JESUS IN BERKELEY

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INTRODUCTION

In the middle sixties Bob Dylan sang a taunting song with the refrain, "Something is happening and you don't know what it is." The great decade of political and cultural upheaval perplexed all who experienced it, actors and observers. If there was a massive erosion of the legitimacy of the American way of life and a crisis of meaning, there was at the same time a proliferation of experimental alternatives—in dress, living arrangements, politics, religion. To decide what was happening was difficult. Certainly no consensus about why things happened as and when they did has yet emerged. Nor is it yet clear whether the counterculture and the events and attitudes associated with it were epiphenomenal or signals of profound change under way.

Around such questions a discussion group of faculty and students in Berkeley gathered during the 1970-71 school year. Professors Robert Bellah and Charles Glock came together with students in the Department of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, and in the program in religion and society at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley. While by this time the peak of the sixties had already passed, its legacy continued to be evident, and successor movements began to emerge.

Particularly interesting to those of us in this group was the religious dimension to what had been happening. Some kind of religious consciousness had been present among the emerging countercultures of the early sixties, and religion seemed even more prominent in the late sixties and in their aftermath in the early seventies. Certainly one could see in the sixties, in addition to the proliferation of religious movements, a quickening of conscience, a new self-awareness, and a kind of spiritual sensitivity among many young people. Further, if the central fact of the sixties should turn out to be a crisis of meaning, as many of us in the study group began to believe, that would signal, ipso facto, a religious crisis. Because of this and because we all were, from one vantage point or another, students of religion, we chose religion as the strategic point of entry into the intriguing and confusing phenomena occurring among many young people in the sixties and continuing, if abated, into the seventies. Religious consciousness seemed potentially the most profound dimension of change.

Eventually our group discussion led to a research plan. In 1971 we were awarded a major research grant by the Institute for Religion and Social Change in Honolulu. The funds for the project came to us from the Ford Foundation, via the Institute. Under the co-directorship of Robert Bellah and Charles Glock the project was launched, one of us pursuing survey research and five of us ethnographic studies.

The setting for these investigations was the San Francisco Bay Area. Here the counterculture had begun, here new trends continued to be born, here the phenomena of the sixties we were most interested in studying, as participants and observers, were most fully developed. Truly in-depth study also seemed to require us to restrict the locale.

As the outlines of our research project began to take shape, we discovered ourselves respectively drawn to study groups or movements with which we felt some personal sympathy or which seemed to be posing and addressing questions which were also existential for us. We certainly agreed early to adopt a nonexploitative attitude toward those whom we studied. Debunking or sensational publicity were not our concerns. We also agreed not to withhold from the group studied our identity as a researcher.

While we wanted to include in our study movements which were quasi-religious and movements which avowed to be nonreligious, we certainly also wished to look at movements and groups which were quite frankly religious. The prominent new religious movement not indebted to the East was the Jesus movement. A revival of fundamentalist-evangelical Protestantism within the youth culture of the late sixties was an event no social commentators had predicted. By 1971 the Jesus movement had become the religious news story of the year.

At hand in Berkeley was a Jesus group calling itself the Christian World Liberation Front (CWLF). From word of mouth, from posters and flyers, and from a few inquiries I gathered that CWLF was not anti-intellectual, did not have flamboyant leadership, and did not take a hard-line fundamentalist approach to its evangelism. In addition, I discovered its interesting newspaper Right On, its countercultural coloration, and its critical attitude toward the American way of life. It looked promising. More, the group seemed something I could "live with" over the next two years in a participant-observer role. (My role was considerably more observer than participant, but in many ways I became in the eyes of the group a minor part of the furnishings.)

Certainly I brought to my study of CWLF the questions that defined our entire research project. We wanted to learn at first hand what it is about new movements, alternative approaches to reality, that appeals to young people; what is the "alternative state of consciousness" the group seems to foster; and what the prospects are for these movements to have a significant and permanent place in American culture and society.

But there were questions more important to me personally which probably clinched my decision to study CWLF. One was partly romantic and partly theological: What would it be like for me, a lifelong Lutheran and, by training and by choice, now a Lutheran clergyman and theologian, to immerse myself for two years in evangelicalism (and perhaps fundamentalism)? Surely I would not end up "going native," as the anthropologists say, but might I find alternatives to some loose ends or short circuits which had increasingly come to bother me about Lutheranism? The chief problem in Lutheranism for me was its ethic and the way it worked out its position in the world.

Akin to that concern was an issue which had been fascinating me since studying Ernst Troeltsch's The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. Troeltsch argued that in each age the Christian Church is called to arrive at a new "completion" of its Gospel, a new embodiment of its message vis-à-vis the world. I was inclined to agree with Troeltsch's radical critique of the form and structure of the Lutheran "completion." Could CWLF be suggestive of a quite different kind of completion? Amidst the cultural upheaval of the sixties a variety of alternatives was coming into being. Specifically, might CWLF represent a position in social ethics long neglected by the mainline churches: intentionalism? Surely an evangelical intentionalism purporting to be an alternative way of being a Christian community over against the world would be more sect type than church type. But if it were vigorous and open, it might have the possibility both of recalling sectarian Protestantism from its unthinking and self-interested Americanism and of challenging mainline Protestantism and Roman Catholicism with provocative and critical questions—leading perhaps to new attempts at completion for them.

If it should prove true, and I was very reluctant to grant this possibility, that a new kind of religious consciousness about the role of the Christian community in society was being embodied, or if a promising revitalization of the historic, but lately forgotten, intentionalist position was under way, then two important additional questions would become crucial. What would happen to whatever was going on? What course would it follow? Would its charisma or promise be sustained? This is the question of institutionalization. Considering how rarely new religious consciousness appears, or even successful revitalizations, the other question is, Will the movement throw sparks, even if its own fire will not continue to burn? And what kinds of combustible material might lie at hand? In all this, besides the concern of Troeltsch, there is the classic question of Max Weber about the role of religion in social change.

In the spring of 1972 I approached Jack Sparks, the head of CWLF. I told him who I was, described our research project, and asked for an entry into every facet of CWLF as a participant-observer. He instantly agreed and graciously invited me to observe or participate in anything that interested me. It was a long time before I felt secure enough fully to take him up on his open invitation. It was not always easy to break through the suspicion many in the group held toward outsiders. In my case that suspicion was sometimes doubled. I was a student at the Graduate Theological Union, often viewed as a vast liberal conspiracy by fundamentalists and evangelicals, and I was working, in part, as a sociologist. That was too strikes against me.

I early discovered that telling someone I was a Lutheran minister was no help. After sharing that with a young man early in my research, naively hoping for instant trust, he replied: "I used to be Lutheran before I became a Christian." Other times I felt like the infiltrator into organized crime one often sees portrayed on television. Such a person is usually asked to kill someone as testimony to his honest intentions. I dreaded being asked to hand out tracts or preach a sermon in Sproul Plaza or evangelize the Graduate Theological Union (no mean task!). I was never asked to do any of these things. Once when I went with the group to picket a Nixon fund-raising dinner in San Francisco I was asked to help hand out anti-Nixon and antiwar leaflets. I was handing them out long after everyone else had grown disinterested or tired. Indeed, I alone almost got myself arrested by the Secret Service.

Eventually I came to be trusted by most of the brothers and sisters in the inner circle of CWLF. I was often taken into their confidence, and very little was hidden from me. Occasionally what one person might be interested in covering another would reveal—because of some internal power plays that were beginning to occur. A few of those people continue to be good friends of mine.

My participant-observation lasted from 1972 to 1974. During that time I attended the Family worship with some regularity. I also went on weekend retreats for the leaders, sat in on many kinds of meetings, and talked informally with a wide variety of participants, including those on the fringe and those just passing through. I was often privy to internal workings (and dissension) among the leadership which few of the members in the group knew about.

I conducted depth interviews with twelve of the brothers and sisters. In a few cases this consisted in one long interview lasting several hours. In most cases I re-interviewed these people over time, sometimes three, four, or five times. During that two-year period, I was also able to observe these people in their "natural setting" and to talk with them in a less focused way on many, many occasions.

I also read all the issues of Right On, the newspaper which CWLF began publishing shortly after arriving in Berkeley in April 1969. I was particularly careful to read all the material in the files that I could gain access to which related to the years before I arrived on the scene. I studied the pamphlets, flyers, and posters which flowed from the CWLF presses in a steady stream.

I tried to talk to many people in Berkeley who had some impressions of CWLF. There were a number of political radicals who continued to nurture strongly hostile feelings toward CWLF because of the group's many face-offs with leftist groups in its early days. Campus ministers and pastors of Berkeley churches also had occasionally encountered CWLF and had some feelings and opinions about the group. CWLF was known to many of the students at the Graduate Theological Union and a celebrated dialogue between CWLF and the GTU occasioned some discussion of CWLF among GTU students.

Although the formal period of my participant-observation ended in 1972, I continued my informal contacts with many of the people I had met in CWLF. I did this particularly with people who stood at the center of leadership and decision making. These kept me informed of the changes that were happening in the group. Occasionally I would come back for a Family meeting or some other group occasion, but most of my contact after 1974 was through long talks with individual leaders. The final such conversations, bringing me up to date on some dramatic changes which had been occurring in the group, occurred in January 1976.

What follows, then, is ethnography. I have attempted the interpretive understanding of a group and its participants. I have tried to be sensitive to the meanings and intentions which these actors were bringing to the scene I was studying. Sociology, social psychology, historical studies, and theology were the disciplines which informed my work. Critical interpretation and analysis is a part of sensitive ethnography. I have also traced the history of the group since its origins in 1969 and tried to place it in its cultural and historical setting. Finally, suggesting the probable outcome of the movement and its larger consequences and significance was the most difficult and most interesting task.

I have said that our studies on this project aimed to discover what the appeal of the group was, what was the alternative it offered, and what were its future "prospects." In addition, I was interested in asking Troeltsch's question about new completions and discovering whether CWLF might promise a revitalized intentionalism as an appropriate social ethical embodiment for a Christian community at this time in American history. Involved in these large questions are the questions about the kind of people who are attracted to the group, "what Jesus People do all day," what they believe, how the group is evolving, and what it does to accomplish its goals.

In order to address these questions and to maximize the sense of evolution and growth of the group itself and also of its participants, I have chosen the following, perhaps unusual, format for this dissertation. Chapter I describes the setting in Berkeley and in American culture and religion for the arrival of the "missionaries" who would found CWLF. I saw them as Paul-like missionaries to Mars Hill, coming to Berkeley, the American Athens, to "make Christ an issue" and attempt to talk about him in the language and style of the inhabitants. This is a chapter about sources and setting.

Very soon the missionaries began gaining converts. Chapter II, "Port of Call," records the spiritual voyages of twelve people who found their way into the Forever Family. Some of these came already in CWLF's first year and some later. These are the people with whom I have conducted depth interviews. I have chosen to "develop" these character studies throughout the dissertation rather than to fill in the whole picture in one chapter.

Chapter III returns from a focus on individual brothers and sisters to the emerging structure of CWLF itself. There is a record of the origins and early history of the group, of a subsequent period of consolidation and structuring, and of the first important time of challenge and change, 1973. (1975 is the second such time.) Dealing with such issues as leadership, social control, economics, and structure, it is essentially a chapter about institutionalization. Here is the groundwork for a later analysis of the ongoing development of the group and for an interpretation of key internal stress points which are fundamental for the ultimate directions the group takes—directions which are reported in the last chapter and which did not solidify until late in 1975.

Chapter IV, "The Days of Their Lives," returns to the Jesus People themselves. It reports "what Jesus People do all day," but also in what context they do it. It is a study of essential ingredients in the new life-style, of the "developmental" tasks of the new person in a new movement.

Every movement develops tactics appropriate to its goals. Within the Christian tradition such strategies and actions are typically called ministries. Chapter V, "Making Christ An Issue," is a long and thorough study of the several ministries that came, in some ways, to define what CWLF was and in what directions and with what purposes it felt called to move.

Chapter VI, "Jesus: Symbol, Style, Structure," is an analysis and interpretation of CWLF's ideology or theology. Chapter VI tries to answer three questions: Who is Jesus for CWLF? What is the group's theological style? To what stance or posture does CWLF see itself called as a Christian community over against the world? A preface on historical theology sets the context for these questions. In answer to the first question, several important symbolizations of Jesus are described and then analyzed functionally. Such aspects of style as Biblical authority, prayer, and heart religion are described in answer to the second question. In answer to the third question, the importance of the Christian community or family for its own members is described, and its stance over against the world is analyzed within categories drawn from Troeltsch, Bryan Wilson, and H. Richard Niebuhr.

Chapter VII, "Outcome, Consequences, Significance," traces the trajectory of CWLF as a group and of the twelve individuals presented in Chapter II. It reports on the directions that institutionalization took and particularly on the decisive events that occurred in late 1975. The twelve character studies are further developed and there is information on "where they are now." Next there is a discussion of the effect CWLF has had on Church and society, particularly in Berkeley. A sense of the national impact of the Jesus movement is also given. Finally, there are tentative answers to the questions about the significance of CWLF, questions about Troeltschian completions and revitalized intentionalism.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

After a decade of turmoil, disruption, and religious despair, the editors of Time asked on the cover of their last issue in 1969, "Is God Coming Back to Life?" By 1971 something which had come to be called "The Jesus Movement" was voted the religious news story of the year. This book is a description and interpretation of the Christian World Liberation Front, the most conspicuous evidence of the Jesus movement in Berkeley during the early seventies. This is particularly the story of CWLF from 1971 to 1973, the years when the author was often present as a participant-observer. There is also a record of the evolution of the CWLF after 1973, in the last chapter, and its early history (1969-1971), in the third chapter. Something of the pre-history of the group is contained at the end of this chapter.

But how did it come to pass that in late 1969 news reports should begin trickling out that Jesus was in Berkeley?[1] And, no less surprising, how did that great American revival called the Jesus movement come to appear in the turbulent history of the 1960s? This chapter is a brief look at the setting for the arrival of the Jesus movement in California and the nation, and of the Christian World Liberation Front in Berkeley.

To locate the Jesus movement on a map of the American consciousness, particularly that of California, we look at three coordinates.

First, the state of American society, particularly during the decade of the sixties. Second, the chiefly youthful phenomenon which came to be called the counterculture. Third, the state of American Protestantism. The sources and origins of the Jesus movement seem to lie at this intersection. A description of that intersection is the subject of the first half of this chapter.

To locate CWLF in Berkeley we look at the scene which had come to shape Berkeley consciousness in the late sixties. There is also a portrait of three missionaries, living in Los Angeles and looking at Berkeley, praying and deciding about "making Christ an issue in Berkeley," and making a pilot foray into alien territory before deciding to take up a ministry. A description of Berkeley and the missionaries' coming is the subject of the second half of this chapter.

Three Coordinates of the Jesus Movement

American Society in the Sixties

In one year of the sixties, 1963, John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Pope John died, and Bible reading in the schools of Pennsylvania was outlawed. Timothy Leary was dismissed from his academic post. The Beatles arrived in America. Bishop Robinson's Honest to God became a best seller.

The decade saw the assassinations of Martin Luther King and two Kennedys, war in Southeast Asia, the explosions of Watts, Harlem, and Detroit, the rise of Students for a Democratic Society and the Weathermen, and the Death of God. After the civil rights movement came black power and then student power and, later, women's power.

Following a thousand-day Camelot came Johnson's Great Society, the abdication of LBJ, the children's crusade for McCarthy aborted in Chicago, and the arrival of Nixon. The famous Bishop Pike, who had scoffed at Billy Graham talking to God in prayer, ended the decade talking to his deceased son and searching for Jesus in the wastelands of Palestine. A whole generation was suddenly offered a glimpse of technology as an iron trap closed over American society and chewing up other countries as well as soon as they achieved ultimate industrialization. The sound of its whirring gears was never again out of consciousness, but no one seemed to know how to throw the switch to stop the machine.

Many noticed few of these things. It was a decade in which millions of people, as always, continued to buy homes, rake leaves, raise families, go to church, and work overtime. Various Americans enjoyed their leisure, went to Europe, experimented with new sexual mores, explored their human potential, acted like Archie Bunker. Many wanted to keep their world view intact, refusing to notice the cracks made by Kent State, Saturday night specials, a jolting divorce rate, the rapid decline of churchly influence, the cries of the Third World, the forceful idealism and violent despair of the young. One concession was to buy a gun, in case one's reality structure should be threatened. Increasingly, police and soldiers were called in to enforce world views and settle disputes over reality definitions.

Especially for some of the young, the sixties were a time of intense idealism, strong commitment, utopian politics, nausea with the hypocrisy of those over thirty, social passion, and reaffirmation of original American values. They rode, stood up, laid down, and sang for a democracy in which all could freely participate in making those decisions that affected their lives. They saw visions not dreamed of during the Eisenhower years. Surges of euphoria, visions of alternative realities, and a Puritan investment in righteous causes balanced despair, decay, rage, and reaction.

Three crises permeated the entire decade. Generally, there was an environmental-urban crisis. Specifically, there was an educational-economic-racial crisis. Through them all was the steady obbligato of Vietnam.

Environmental critics became millennial figures during the sixties. With steady and militant prophecies they kept Doomsday before the American imagination. They talked about ecosystems, worldwide famine, spaceship earth, polluted oceans, technological fallout, and irreversible biological mechanisms. Protestant fundamentalists and Marxist radicals were often Amen corners to their stern sermons. The moon would turn to blood, the American empire to destruction. It was almost exciting to some of those whose deviant reality structures seemed to hang from skyhooks outside the dying American ecosystem. Others responded with denials or calls for more technology.

The urban environment aggravated, intensified, and catalyzed nearly every problem that faced American society. The graffiti on the city walls was slowly rubbing into the American consciousness, even while some praised the city or ignored its problems. Urban became an adjective tied to a thousand disasters. Cities were the locus of the poor and the sick, living apart from organic supporting structures. Cities confined technology and bad air and corrupt politics and racial hatreds and corporate capitalism's work force and castoffs.

Universities had become knowledge factories serving the corporate state. Students saw themselves as nameless IBM cards tracked through the system and fed out at graduation for service in an alien society. High schools and even junior high schools were battlegrounds for teachers, students, neighborhoods, races, politicians, criminals, parents, and ideologies. The University looked to various people like a free-love playground, a tool of rightist regents, a staging area for assaults on "Amerika," a depersonalizing monster, the covert ally of the military-industrial complex, a microcosm of troubled society, the place to refashion a new America, the hope and curse of youth, a refuge from Vietnam, the dumping ground of middle-class permissiveness, a temple of head trips or Enlightenment rationalism.

The economic machinery kept throwing up alienated youth. A New Left, come to being in a post-scarcity society, saw revolutions around the world precipitated by corporate capitalism in search of new markets and exploitable sources of raw materials. Adolescence had become a new class created by socioeconomic realities. A new consumerism tried to raise consciousness to understand the level at which the people were being cheated, used, and exploited by American corporations, lied to by American advertising, and forsaken by a bought American Congress. Millionaires paid no income tax. Everyone resented welfare.

New burdens consistently were made to fall heaviest on the poor. The greatest oppressors were the most sheltered by the political system. Wealth, privilege, power, corruption, and politics all seemed to run together.

The racial revolution ignited as things began to improve. There was racial strife bordering on war in cities, unions, schools, prisons, and in the military. Black power, white reaction, pride, prejudice, paranoia, oppression, deprivation, delayed anger, an unatoned history, directionless frustration, demogoguery, guilt—all came together in the evil morass of racial strife. Scarcely any part of the fabric of American life was untouched.

Through it all, accentuating the anomie and hostility of the young, beat the drum of the Vietnam war. It seemed the longest, ugliest, most alienating, immoral, destructive war in American history. For many it epitomized a syndrome of fatal defects in American society: racism, corporate capitalism, deluded liberalism, misbegotten patriotism, hysterical anti-Communism, cynical and lying politics, hypocrisy, trampled ideals, egotism, blinded political vision. It looked like a projection of everything that was wrong in America, compounded with some things that were right. For many of draftable age, it was the single most irritating, frustrating, insulting, enraging, nagging aspect of life in America.

All this pointed to a crisis in the American character. America seemed ready to fall because its citizens and its politicians no longer believed in things worth believing in. Comfort, profit, selfishness, thoughtless obedience were replacing God, civic virtue, and concern for community. The call of hedonism, escape from freedom, withdrawal into materialism, temptations to morality without demand, responsibility without social components, values without transcendence had eaten deeply into the American character. In religion and theology, too, there emerged "a major reappraisal of the most assured elements of the historical Judeo-Christian consensus."[2] Looking back over a decade which seemed to "experience a fundamental shift in the aesthetic, moral, and religious attitudes of Americans . . . a decisive turning point in American history,"[3] Sydney Ahlstrom asks:

> Why did THIS decade become the moment when the WASP's wings are clipped; when the Protestant Establishment collapses; when ancient stands of sexual morality are revised; when governments relax their equally ancient prerogative of censorship; when thousands resist or evade the country's call to arms; when ministers and thinking laity alike lose confidence in ecclesiastical institutions; when anti-supernaturalism makes deep inroads in both pulpit and seminary, and presumably also in the church historian's study; when a two-and-a-half millennia tradition of religious opposition to "worldliness" and "secularism" is drastically weakened; when the religious category itself is profoundly questioned in the churches and synagogues; and when the New Morality and the Death of God become popular slogans? Why, in short, have so many long-term processes dropped their bomb load on the sixties?[4]

The fate of the American family, the family which bore the children of the Jesus movement, could scarcely remain separate from all this. A general decline in transcendent values, the constant mobility demanded by American corporations, alternative values and life-styles hawked by Hollywood and advertising, the continuing erosion of organic bases for community, the late stages of a corrupted bourgeois individualism, the prolongation of adolescence, the rise of a new morality with the decline of authoritative theologies, the evolution of youth as a social and consumer class, the increasingly rapid pace of American society giving rise to future shock, the drive for individual happiness and self-actualization—all these played their role in the flood of divorce, marital strife, and personal immorality which threatened to erode and wash away the institution of marriage and family and the American home as an integrating unit in society.

The Counterculture

In his best-selling book of 1969 Theodore Roszak described the reaction to the state of American society in the sixties: The Making of a Counter Culture.[5] The vital ingredients were reacting youth, popular but older gurus, and the recovery of heroes and visions long since departed. Ammunition for the fight against technocratic society was garnered from the liberation philosophies of Herbert Marcuse and Norman Brown, the religions of the East via Allen Ginsberg and Allen Watts, the visionary sociology of Paul Goodman, and figures from the romantic tradition like William Blake. Roszak thought he saw a cultural constellation which included the psychology of alienation, oriental mysticism, psychedelic drugs, and communitarian experiments, all coming together in a way not seen since the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

Eventually, a whole variety of ingredients came to be lodged in the youth culture of colleges and universities: Romanticism, body consciousness, cult of experience, experimentation with drugs and the search for altered states of consciousness and visions of multiple realities, cultivation of feelings, anti-intellectualism as a form of protest, return to nature and the organic, new sexual mores, yearning for ecstasy and peak experiences, alienation from the system, the Establishment, the churches.

Beyond the many specific new religions which flourished among the young, the counterculture in a sense tried to be a religion itself: a religion of feeling, experience, selfness, human potential. In this it only shares in the profound psychologization of American life. Esalen retaught a new generation an old principle of romantic philosophy: I feel, therefore I am. The prophets of Baal exhorted the crowds to get in touch with their feelings. In a thousand "high places" small groups gathered around dilettante and self-proclaimed novice priests to encounter each other and themselves.[6]

Much of this psychologization of American life had become a phenomenon of American culture generally, moving from the intellectuals to the masses. The youth culture seemed to produce its truest believers and its most violent inquisitors. Many cultivated the self and the "old Gnosis." But others embodied the moral idealism of the civil rights movement, commitment to brotherhood and community, and the stern Puritanism of the Marxian New Left.

Eventually the abandoment of instinctual renunciation, the cult of self, and the despair of political action became more and more attractive options. With Romanticism, the counterculture shared the lust for uninhibited personal development.[7] Any and all religions could become stages to go through on one's personal quest.[8]

Drugs were often central to the countercultural experience. They were the apotheosis of isolation, the celebration of anomie, psychic emigration from Establishment realism, a rainbow of blessings and curses. Through drugs one could achieve a cheap exodus from responsibility or a window on new reality, a first glimpse of the supernatural. They became a protest, an alternate way of life, a new status system. People were lost and found. Some killed themselves and some were reborn. Some escaped God and some found him. The Hound of Heaven had a remarkable propensity for appearing in psychedelic trips. The divine archetypes which had always been there in the old family albums of the psyche reappeared or once again asserted their mysterious and fascinating power. Drugs readied people for death and life, for god and the devil, for pinnacles of isolation and for the surging, warm communities of the new religious movements. They were a new Eden of death and rebirth.

There seemed always the possibility of going two ways in the religion that was the counterculture:[9] idealism and activism or resignation and frustration; the liberating death of authority or the curse of uncertainty; if the old God is dead all things are possible—or nothing is worth doing; a surge of commitment or the slackening of human tone and the incapacity to get interested in anything.

There remained all through the sixties, however, hard- and soft-core political activists and idealists. The Movement, as it came to be known, seemed most happy and sure of itself in its civil rights and early anti-war days, but some from this New Left stayed on long after many, frustrated or lacking energy for the long haul, left to contemplate themselves instead of society and reduced the revolution to what seemed the more manageable proportions of their own heads.

The year 1962 saw the birth of SDS, the most conspicuous and successful political organization throughout the decade, until its disintegration in 1969-70. SDS was only a part of the Movement, which was only a part of a larger cultural upheaval, but it epitomized what was best of youthful politics and, later, what was worst. It was a kind of organizational expression of the Movement, its intellectual mentor and energy source. Its initial Port Huron statement provided the intellectual and analytic tools for the first home-grown Left. It was a crucial help for students trying to fashion a political understanding for their sense of alienation. It became like a theological analysis of the modern dilemma. It helped you understand why you felt so bad and what externally was wrong.[10]

The counterculture, then, was a social movement, perhaps a quasi-religious movement. It fostered and peopled other social and religious movements. It was all at the same time a crucible, a dumping ground, a compost pile, a pregnant womb, a power plant. Charismatic leaders born for it were able to exploit its unconscious yearnings. The Establishment had, in a way, produced it and then come to hate it. There was also admiration, persecution, and co-optation. Out of the intense ferment of its longing, idealism, disgust, anomie, intellectual talent, the counterculture produced important leaders and movements. By no means was it a sterile reaction to American society "which offered nothing positive." It was alive with alternatives, often several new ones every month. If it sometimes looked like a dumping ground for deviants and social misfits, the spontaneous combustion that happened there lit up a decade.[11]

American Protestantism

The American culture of the sixties cannot have been without effect on the churches. Mainstream Protestantism has often been considered the religious expression of the American people. Now its pews were increasingly empty and its theology in disarray. There was a marked decline in belief in supernatural religion and many of the historic doctrines were left unconfessed or even were scorned and reviled. There arose among theologians "the God question"—whether it was possible any longer to talk about God at all. Some of the religious best sellers, revolutionizing theology or castigating the churches, were Honest to God, The Secular City, the several death-of-God books, After Ausschwitz, The Comfortable Pew, and The Noise of Solemn Assemblies.[12]

There was no lack of theological ferment. One unifying theme was growing concern for the world. While the very problem of God was debated, a marvelous flowering of social Christianity was occurring, perhaps a wonderful sublimation of a past theology of transcendence. Unsure about God's place in heaven, churches and theologians were energetically keeping his rumor alive on earth. One could be sure about social action. Yet ethics generally was also in a quandary, partly due to the denial of absolutes and the assertions of optimistic situationists.

More than coincidentally, the death of God seemed the opposite side of the coin of joyous secularism. If the death of God was in fact only a "two-man movement,"[13] the media, from *Time* to *Playboy*, the American people, and thousands of Easter sermons fastened onto it with amazing interest. People who had little interest in the churches were stunned to encounter God's pallbearers coming out of them, and many were outraged. Fundamentalists said we told you that's where it would end. Pundits inquired into the American character that could produce such a thing. Most liberal Protestants were not happy either with what had been wrought.

Some began to extol the man Jesus. Religious phenomenology was not without its "freakiness" well before that time late in the sixties when the early Jesus people took that epithet with pride. Out of the emptiness of many of the American churches came a new interest in religion, often, but not always, Eastern. *U.S. News and World Report* noted that 800 of 1,300 four-year colleges had religious studies programs or departments. Enrollment in them was growing twice as fast as the average for most departments.[14]

In addition to the world, theologians tried variously to recover hope, the future, eschatology, and transcendence. Toward the end of the decade there were theologies for the political and cultural revolutions as well. The World Council of Churches Geneva Conference on Church and Society in 1966 was political and radical. Shortly after, the Frankfurt statement by evangelicals called the churches to a mission and evangelism consciousness. There were also theologies of black power, theologies of peace. At the end of the decade, Marty and Peerman's New Theology No. 7 was reporting "the recovery of transcendence."[15] The first section of the volume contained three articles under the subtitle "The Call for Experience." While the "pioneers in the recovery," Karl Rahner and Thomas Merton, were hardly advance men for the Jesus movement, it soon would become clear, at least in the popular mind, that Jesus people were virtuosi at experiencing the transcendent.

American religion seems always to have been enigmatic. America was the most secular and the most pious, a steady source of amazement and despair for European theologians. Will Herberg had looked at the fifties and seen the triumph of secularism in a new Protestant-Roman Catholic-Jewish culture religion.[16] William McLoughlin saw there the beginning of a Fourth Great Awakening.[17] Evangelicals and liberals could never agree on the essence of Christianity—whether individual salvation or social Gospel. To the evangelical and fundamentalist, the social Gospel was at best a derailment of the true Gospel and at worst clear evidence of the onslaught of secularism and a theology emptied of transcendence. To the liberal, the social Gospel was the essence of being Christian, and the preoccupation with individual salvation was escapist at best and at worst anti-intellectual, repressive, and demonic.

If the finest flower of social Christianity seemed to bloom in the sixties, that decade also saw the unmistakable beginning of the decline of mainline Protestant dominance on the American religious scene. The decline in funding and in students at the major Protestant seminaries by the end of the decade, the rapid growth of evangelical seminaries, the decline in readership for the Christian Century and the great numbers success of Christianity Today, the decline of advance and even of interest in the ecumenical movement, particularly the much-heralded Consultation on Church Union—all were important indicators of what was happening in American Protestantism. Looking back on the sixties, Dean Kelley, a staff member of the National Council of Churches, wrote Why Conservative Churches Are Growing.[18]

Reassertions of fundamental Christianity had always come about through major revivals in American religious history. In Modern Revivalism, William McLoughlin has described several such periods:[19] the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, associated especially with Jonathan Edwards; the Second Awakening of the 1830s, associated with Charles Finney; Dwight L. Moody's revival of the 1870s and 1880s; Billy Sunday in the 1910s; Billy Graham since the 1950s. Such revivalists rekindled loyalty both to evangelical Protestant teachings about sin, conversion, and regeneration, but also loyalty for respected American ideals about individual liberty and opportunity. The major revivals all strongly identified the future of Christianity with the fate of American democracy.

Since its founding America has had a free church tradition which has always been able to provide fertile soil for revivalism. A German observer finds the Jesus movement inconceivable without the American free church tradition.[20] If the increasing pluralism in American life and a new suspicion of the melting pot ideal had given rise to a "new ethnicity" in the late sixties, it is not surprising that the particularities in the free church tradition should also begin reasserting themselves amidst the vast common denominator Protestant liberalism which had gained the day.[21]

Looking in 1968 at the failure of the promise of Vatican II, Rosemary Reuther thought she saw a kind of free church movement, though of a different type, in Roman Catholicism as well. The term free church meant to her:

> all the various ways and means of expression by which Catholics are withdrawing from hierarchical jurisdiction and setting up para-institutional organizations, communities, and forums by which their own voices can be heard; voices which really express their own positions and needs and are not simply the echo of the power structure above them, whether this be the Pope vis-à-vis the bishops, the bishops vis-à-vis the priests, or the clerical power structure as a whole in relation to the laity.[22]

Some kind of free church tradition in America had always been available, going its own way and, at its best, refreshingly outside the mainstream, deviant, gloriously sectarian. Such a tradition was there for people turning to Jesus while remaining in the counterculture. Erling Jorstad has argued that, unlike previous American revivals, the Jesus movement was "new-time religion" in not binding itself to American institutions and American destiny.[23] In a way, such groups as the Pentecostal-Holiness finally came into their own in the Jesus movement. They had always been there—deviant, usually rural, in many ways disloyal to commonly accepted cultural and churchly values and ideals. In the Jesus movement they were to some extent able to break out of whatever acculturation they had suffered and take their place as a new counter-Christianity, often urban.

If the fundamentalism which had expired on the battlefields of the 1920s was regaining its nerve in the 1960s and indeed experiencing a revival, if it was flexing its muscles in a scene until recently dominated by mainline Protestantism, then it is understandable that some of its tradition, some of what it offered, was readily mainlined into the veins of a young Jesus movement.[24] Indeed, it may have been indispensable for that movement to take life.

The apocalyptic always at hand in fundamentalism, if it did not unite with lower classes suffering economic deprivation to create a religio-political movement as at some times in history, did provide exactly the right feel of reality for a generation suffering from future shock, the threats of nuclear disaster nearly reduced to a daily banality, ignorance of the past, the cruel War, a lying government, and broken dreams and values. For some, the new apocalypticism meant the world situation was so bad only God could intervene to make it right. For others it became the most exciting game going in a culture gone mad: fundamentalist witchcraft, evangelical magic. For those not in the counterculture, those who had faithfully kept apocalypticism alive in deviant, fundamentalist churches, apocalyptic and prophecy were the new keys to reality, a real mystery religion in the time of the failure of diplomacy and political science, a charismatic romp through the American unconscious, a new status in a world trusting nothing that was there.

Hand in glove with apocalypticism was a pre-millennial eschatology. Essential to this view is the belief in literal prophecies and a dramatic second coming of Christ before the golden age of the thousand-year reign. The latter belief eliminates any possible optimism which would see the church and/or civilization working its way up to the final return of Christ. Historical events are inevitable guideposts on the road to the end, if one reads them from the correct Biblical viewpoint. To many, the restoration of a homeland to the Jews in 1948 and the recapture of Jerusalem in 1967 were vital steps on the way to Christ's second coming. Hal Lindsey's phenomenally best-selling The Late Great Planet Earth[25] documents all the signs with breathless certainty and anticipation. If Jesus people often seemed escapist, that is a life-style which grows easily on pre-millennial soil. There is, in fact, no future, especially in the latter days, but that which will be inaugurated by the return of Christ. That return is totally discontinuous with all that has occurred on earth immediately prior to it. Things are getting worse before Christ comes to make them better.

Evangelical Protestantism also provided a solid presence of youth and evangelistic groups which served as models, missionaries, catalysts, and profiteers as the Jesus movement took shape. These nondenominational groups had begun appearing in the 1930s. The Navigators began in 1933 with a ministry to people in the armed services. In the 1940s the American Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship grew rapidly, planted in this country by the Inter-Collegiate Christian Fellowship. Its ministry was to colleges and universities, on very many of whose campuses it now has chapters. Inter-Varsity Press not only publishes HIS magazine, the official organ, but over two hundred books and pamphlets. Every three years a major convention is held in

Urbana, Illinois. Young Life, a ministry to high school students, was begun in 1941. Youth for Christ, begun in 1944, was responsible for a controversial "new evangelism," whose rallies and techniques resemble those of the Jesus movement. The newest and most ambitious of these ministries is Campus Crusade for Christ, founded in 1951 by William Bright. It is active on campuses and elsewhere, united to saturate the world with an evangelistic message by 1980. It is composed of students and laymen and has expanded from campus ministry to lay, faculty, high school, athletic, military, and mass media ministries. Its most conspicuous recent manifestation was the Dallas "Explo 72," in which 75,000 people gathered to share Christ with each other, with Dallas, and via the media, with the world. The styles of bold, activist, evangelistic, nondenominational, innovating ministries developed by such groups were scarcely without impact on the young Jesus movement. It was a predisposing factor, a vital contributor, and an eager harvester of the Jesus movement. Often, of course, the Spirit of the Jesus movement blew too freely and lighted too capriciously and unstably for the leadership of many of these groups. Not a few staffers of these groups, whose charisma had been heavily institutionalized and whose style had become middle-class and straight, went over to the Jesus movement when they saw in it new charisma, new movements of the Spirit, and new opportunities for the kind of leadership they thought they could provide—opportunities which were part of the history of their own groups but no longer a present reality.

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A more general factor in American Protestantism, which in the early 1970s would force dramatic changes in the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod most conspicuously, but was also a steady ferment in other denominational infighting, was the crisis in Biblical authority. The fight for Biblical authority was, in the eyes of many, lost by the fundamentalists and evangelicals in the 1920s. If it was a victory for liberal Protestantism, it was a victory which seemed to be catching up with it by the 1960s. The evangelical camp had never let the issue die either. When a whole age questioned authority of all kinds, when some sought authoritative answers amidst bewildering history and experience, a part of Protestantism was there with surefire answers. They sounded like they stood for something. They acted as if they knew what they were talking about. They had a certainty and an authoritative word which was very different from that to be heard in the civil religion, among the member churches of the National Council of Churches, and among campus pastors. That authority was the underpinning of a world view which explained the mess of reality, which offered a fulcrum amidst chaos, which conveyed meaning, a place to stand, a place to go, a dependable resource, something you could trust, something that would stay still as the sands shifted and the floods swept by. Only those indebted to such an authority could shout "One Way" and say with joyful certainty, "Jesus is the Answer."

The Arrival of Jesus in Berkeley: Mars Hill in a California Athens

Prologue: Acts 17:16-31

> Now while Paul was waiting for them at Athens, his spirit was provoked within him as he saw that the city was full of idols. So he argued in the synagogue with the Jews and devout persons, and in the marketplace every day with those who chanced to be there. Some also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met him. And some said, "What would this babbler say?" Others said, "He seems to be a preacher of foreign divinities"—because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. And they took hold of him and brought him to the Areopagus, saying, "May we know what this new teaching is which you present? For you bring some strange things to our ears; we wish to know therefore what these things mean." Now all the Athenians spent their time in nothing except telling or hearing something new.
>
> So Paul, standing in the middle of the Areopagus, said: "Men of Athens, I perceive that in every way you are very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription, 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you. The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines made by man, nor is he served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all men life and breath and everything. And he made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation, that they should seek God, in the hope that they might feel after him and find him. Yet he is not far from each one of us, for 'In him we live and move and have our being'; as even some of your poets have said, 'For we are indeed his offspring.' Being then God's offspring, we ought not to think that the Deity is like gold, or silver, or stone, a representation by the art and imagination of man. The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent, because he has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given assurance to all men by raising him from the dead."

Athens was again searching for its soul the year the missionaries arrived. In April 1969 there was a comment in Rolling Stone the missionaries would have applauded:

> Politics has failed. My God, if we need more proof of that than any hour of the evening news on TV, we are blind. No, the hippies and the Beatles and the Pop musicians present no Program for Improvement of the Society. What they do is to present a program for improvement of the young people of the world. You can't change the society until you reach a state of grace and, as poet Jerry Greenberg asked, "What is the capital of the state of grace?"[26]

The missionaries who arrived that month wanted to make it Berkeley.

On Mars Hill people with itching minds and ears debated the questions of the day. Which way is SDS going? Can we make a Peoples' Park? What will happen to the Chicago 8? Rolling Stone suggested: "The Beatles aren't just more popular than Jesus, they are also more potent than the SDS."[27] The sun and the drugs were good, too. There was talk of Sergeant Sunshine's nine-month sentence for smoking grass on the steps of City Hall in his police uniform. Down near the border Costa Mesa's city council urged the United States to purchase Baja California from the Mexican government to stem the flow of narcotics. Several Mexicans offered to buy Costa Mesa from the United States for six burros and three sacks of beans. The "Better Berkeley Council" was passing out a flier with a hairy young man grinning beneath a policeman's cap: "WANTED: Hip Cops, peacemen not policemen."[28]

There were other missionaries that spring. SDS had its travelers. Michael Rossman was calling himself a "campus traveler in the educational reform movement."[29] He talked about a new ghetto with seven million inhabitants, America's college youth coming alive with rebellion. Guerrilla actors surfaced in cafeterias, classrooms, and libraries to shoot Vietnamese peasants, recalling Aeschylus' disruptive drama. The street was the heaviest theater, stage-managed by the hip and the radical. Policemen's clubs sent instant enlightenment into the heads of the audiences. Music, drugs, and the street were the new catalyzers of religious experience. Meanwhile, old-time chaplains were called to King Nixon's Court to assure him of his righteousness and rebuke the opposition. A report from Educational Testing Service circulating in two thousand college administrations declared: "The absence of a religious preference is the single personal characteristic most predictive of protest behavior in college freshmen."[30] Counter-religions were not long in emerging. In two months Peoples' Park would be sanctified by a cross section of young Berkeley clergy. In six months congregations would gather at Woodstock "dedicated to whatever gods now seem effective and whatever myths produce the energy needed to survive: Meher Baba, Mother Earth, street-fighting man, Janis Joplin, Atlantis, Jim Hendrix, Che."[31]

In Los Angeles the spirit of a man named Jack Sparks was provoked. Safe in the employment of well-funded, straitlaced Campus Crusade for Christ, he could not stop thinking about Berkeley. Something special was needed there. Campus Crusade had tried. In 1967 they had declared a Berkeley week, brought in staffers from all over the country, manned forty telephones to get out the Gospel of four spiritual laws, and topped it off with a Billy Graham appearance. There was not a revival.

Certain that Crusade's style could not succeed in Berkeley, Sparks began talking with two friends, Fred and Pat. A special missionary journey was called for. They talked to their wives. They prayed and tried to trust God's Spirit to lead them. Pat fretted about a radical movement out to take over the country and saw nothing but hate and violence ahead. Jack saw the absence of Christians in a place where people were hurting and trying to make change happen. They tried to get ready to let God change their lives. If the claim of Christ's Lordship was real, it would have to be taken to Berkeley and taken seriously there, too. The cross had to be raised on Mars Hill, Sproul Plaza of the University of California at Berkeley.

Sparks was no showman, carrying his eighty-pound cross across the country and chaining himself to Sunset Strip like the Jesus entrepreneur, Arthur Blessit. He did carry a cross inside him. A kind of grief for the masses, it made him hurt in his stomach and it reflected in his deep eyes and sad smile.[32] He did not wear white bucks and blue serge suits, like the missionaries who combed Sunset Strip for the Lord. Oshkoshes, blue work shirt, and boots seemed right for him and for Berkeley. Sparks had become a Christian when a neighbor in an apartment invited him to church. He was the son of an Indiana tenant farmer determined to make it big with his Ph.D. in statistics. He felt God taking slow hold of him, as he and his wife, Esther, began studying the Word to make up for a lifetime of churchlessness. The burden he felt taking shape was not computerizing the Bible for Campus Crusade, but coming to Telegraph Avenue and Ludwig's Fountain in Sproul Plaza and beginning a Forever Family in Berkeley.

Pat and Fred were college jocks who had lived the high life. After college they were converted and felt themselves set on a great quest to be "Christians with a difference." Pat was tall, aggressive, handsome, and thrived on conflict. He was conservative politically. His "Miss California" type wife and he had to make a great adjustment to Berkeley.

The group first stumbled on the Berkeley campus in the middle of the Third World Liberation Front strike. They were spit on by the radicals and tear-gassed by the police. They leafletted, spoke to crowds, prayed, cowered, and carried their first signs: IT TAKES GUTS TO FOLLOW JESUS, THE REAL REVOLUTIONIST! PIG STATE NO, ANARCHY NO, JESUS YES! JESUS LOVES THE LITTLE PIGS, JESUS LOVES THE LITTLE STUDENTS, WHY NOT TRY JESUS! Mostly they felt stupid, silly, and out of place. They were. When their trial ordeal was over, Sparks felt satisfied that Jesus Christ was lifted up and "not a single person didn't know that there were Christians around who cared." Even if fire did not come down from heaven and six thousand people fall on their knees and repent.

That was their pilot missionary visit. Back in Southern California they licked their wounds, prayed, rejoiced, talked, and decided to leave their jobs and careers. They felt God calling them. No one else was doing the kinds of things they were inclined to do and thought had to be done. Berkeley was the vortex of the youth culture. They had to come.

Berkeley religions were flourishing when the missionaries arrived. Like ancient Rome, Berkeley received prophets from all over and did no little exporting. Wandering priests from Berkeley found their way to a thousand parks and commons and public places around the world.

The Berkeley Gazette trumpeted an old American religion which conservatives still held on to. Sacrifices to the American dream were still offered up daily by its editors. The Berkeley Barb hawked another religion to a different audience. From across the Bay came more theological tabloids. On every telephone pole and building side were written messages from rival gods. From a hundred corners and storefronts religious prophets hawked their wares. It was a Persian market of divinities, the California god-rush, East and West come together, with the market favoring the exotic.

The Puritan sky god who possibly still called America his sacred territory and whose name and image were invoked in Inaugural Addresses was disacknowledged by the people on Telegraph Avenue. They lounged in the loins of an earth mother. Pan-sexualism was the rite of their reborn fertility. If regressive fusion with earth mother was not necessarily the goal, a hearty body consciousness and the recovery of human potential often were. Zen and Yoga were paths of discipline for those who wanted it. Unlimited balling and drugs were there for those who didn't. Drugs were the bread and wine which transfigured their devotees into new states of consciousness in which they saw god again—or for the first time. New liturgies sprang into being and thousands of witnesses gave their testimonies. The Daily Californian, the student newspaper, was a calendar for the meetings and events of the Berkeley divinities. If one were not already a disciple, and most were not, one could pick and choose, embracing all in a grandiose but mindless syncretism or one by one with passion and intensity—

serial monotheism, the religion of the week. Through the crowds also walked the true believers in the age of science and rationalism, on their way to preach to unbelieving classes.

In the midst of this the new missionaries argued every day in the marketplace and on Sundays, if invited, in the churches. Often they were well received by the young, for many had ears for every new thing. Schlagwortjaeger, the German Bible called them. When the missionaries mentioned Christ and new birth and personal relationship, however, the crowds left or responded negatively. Sometimes there were confrontations. Loud preaching into plugged ears. Counter gestures. A campus table standoff at high noon. SDS and the missionaries forcefully witnessing to each other.

Their message was simple and strong. Except for the last sentence, it was not different from the one Nock reports of the missionaries in the early centuries of Christianity:

> You are in your sins, a state inevitable for you as a human being and aggravated by your wilfulness. No action of yours will enable you to make a new start, no effort of yours will enable you to put aside your guilt in God's eyes, and you are doomed to endless suffering hereafter. Turn to us, stake everything on Jesus the Christ being your Savior, and God will give to you the privilege of making a new start as a new being and will bestow upon you grace which will enable you so to live here as to obtain a share in the life of the world to come. By using our sacraments you will here and now triumph over death and will have a foretaste of the joys which await you in heaven.[33]

Perhaps the emerging community, the Forever Family, was to become the new sacrament. Echoing Paul, the missionaries introduced the crowds to the Father of Jesus Christ, the God above and beyond their religious quests. "He is near you. Your own counter-culture witnesses to him."

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Every day the missionaries went to the campus and walked the Avenue. They listened and talked and prayed about what they saw. Evenings they went to radical political meetings. Wherever crowds gathered, they appeared. Late at night they came home to the house they had found to rent. They learned to leaflet, sign, poster, and bullhorn from watching radical students.

But they learned slowly and painfully and with much prayer. Once they went to a Free Huey Newton rally in San Francisco. Their leaflet proclaimed "FREE HUEY" and then talked about the freedom available in the Forever Family. When the rhetoric got heavier, the nearly all-black crowd began chanting, and Kathleen Cleaver identified a pig as "anyone who doesn't believe as we do." The brave missionaries paid two ten-year-old blacks fifty cents each to distribute the leaflets and headed for cover. Years later they are still embarrassed. They were not yet ready for such situations. They tried to learn as they went along what pleased the Lord.

Other Christians hassled them. Some were suspicious of any who would go off and leave good jobs to spend time with "such people." Those Christians tried to make Sparks feel guilty for exposing his four children to such things and wondered if the missionaries were cutting themselves off from the good people of America. The missionaries did some hassling, too. They argued in the Submarine Church, they confronted the Free Church, and they thought about claiming Unitas, the center for United Ministries in Higher Education, for the Lord Jesus Christ.

As they made their rounds they found passionate radicals, quiet despair, unbudging Hari Krishnas, indifferent finger gestures, and seekers after religion. They tried to talk and listen to all of them. They wanted to tell people in their own languages what a personal relationship with the Father through the Son could be and they wanted to describe the life with brothers and sisters in the Forever Family. There were long conversations that ended abruptly with "I've got a class" when the missionary's punch line came.

They began gathering a small group around their ministry. They prayed mightily, learning to do it in a group. "It builds your faith to see things happen together. You become witnesses to each other that the Lord is real and you're not just making something up." They took odd jobs. One zealous new Christian confronted a Berkeley hill dweller, in whose yard he was working, with the firm question, "Do you know Jesus?" The man turned and fled and phoned for assurance that the young man was harmless. They cast out demons, when some prospective Christians said they could not be in the Father's Family because they already belonged to the devil. They loved and supported and scolded and wrestled and agonized with heroin addicts. They printed ten thousand copies of "Jesus in Berkeley," imaginary encounters with Jesus in the language of the street. They joined radicals to picket the Russian tourist bureau, carrying signs which said: LIBERATE CZECHS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, LIBERATE CHRISTIANS IN RUSSIA, and POLITICAL FREEDOM WITHOUT RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IS PLASTIC. When police said they could not carry a six-foot sign into the Russian Photo Exhibit, they painted the message on old white shirts, and wore it into the exhibit.

Once the missionaries went to a love-in at a Marin County beach. Driving along in an old hearse they had acquired they picked up hitchhikers along the way. These began to pass around a jug of wine, smoke dope, and one young woman began to expose herself. It was almost too much for one of the young Christains along. When they stopped in a traffic jam close to the beach, the hitchers all said they'd walk from there, and the pressure was off. As the traffic jam continued, Pat hooked up the portable PA they had brought along and read the whole book of Romans from his Living New Testament. The scene at the beach was gross, people were stoned, the Hell's Angels were there, sex was everywhere, and nobody wanted to listen to anything. One young Christian stayed in the hearse the whole time. The missionaries didn't go to any more love-ins.

They were more effective at North Beach in San Francisco. One of the Christians was arrested, another got superficially stabbed when a dancer came after him with a scissors, and they all got hosed down by one of the owners of a topless and bottomless joint, but they stayed there and they kept witnessing and passing out their leaflets. Not a few stopped to talk, and some of those came into the Forever Family. One owner tried to bribe the group to stay away from his place. "Sometimes we give donations to certain worthy groups." When the missionaries refused, he made a deal to let them come inside once a night to witness for thirty minutes if they wouldn't march around outside. After he lost his bouncer, one of the dancers, and a few in the audience to the Forever Family, he terminated that arrangement.

The missionaries tried every means they could imagine to deliver their message. The antics and theater and signs and leaflets and confrontations were meant to gain a hearing. When they got it, they learned to speak softly and winsomely to the people about how God loves them and wants them to know him. How the Father, through Jesus, is calling people into his Forever Family. How they can enter as they give up their hold on themselves, ask to meet Jesus, receive him into their hearts and lives. Sometimes they just sat down next to someone on the sidewalk or the steps of the student union and started telling about Jesus or listening to where someone was at. Often it was the first time anyone had talked or listened in a week. Once Pat bought two spare change artists lunch and baptized them in soapsudsy Ludwig's Fountain two hours later.

In that first year the missionaries started their Rising Son Ranch in Northern California for people who needed a rest from their previous environment, a time to work with their hands, and a Christian family to grow into. They began "Right On," the underground Christian newspaper which was to begin a new genre in Christian literature. They wrote some new "Screwtape Letters"[34] in which they had junior and senior devils arguing over what was really happening in Peoples' Park. They protested the regulations against religious activities on campus in a May Day Pray Day, and witnessed at Altamont. At Christmas they put San T Claus on trial, charged him with economic imperialism and scaring children, and acquitted him by the blood of Jesus. They struggled with Children of God prophets passing through Berkeley and shared Jesus with a few who claimed to be Jesus. They tried to start a Free University and a Christian youth hostel, gathered in the woods for weekend "offensives," produced a People's Medical Handbook, Christian comics, and Letters to Street Christians, a paraphrase of the letters of the New Testament in hip language. They enticed people to a Billy Graham Rally by chartering a bus and handing out leaflets in the name of the "People's Committee to Investigate Billy Graham." They witnessed, uninvited, at the prestigious Earle Lectures on theology and told a United Methodist Conference on Evangelism, to which they have been invited, what they thought evangelism was. They produced "bust cards," with bail information and civil rights listed on one side and Jesus the Messiah proclaimed on the other. They marched for peace in San Francisco and distributed 100,000 leaflets for God, out-saturating even the Maoists. They took to cable cars to keep their signs moving when the police stalemated an anti-Nixon demonstration. They leafleted a conference of industrialists with the warnings of the New Testament epistle of James. And they came to call themselves—because they needed a campus organization and the organization needed a name, and this one seemed right—the Christian World Liberation Front. It was a very good year.[35]

They had sunk their roots, they had taxed their imaginations and energies to be all things to all people everywhere things were happening. As the New Testament Book of Acts recorded, the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved. A Forever Family was alive in Berkeley. The press and the people began to take notice. God would start to call some people home here. That is the story which lies before us.

Had they accomplished more than Paul had in Athens? They talked about the "New Berkeley Liberation Program" and they called for brothers and sisters to join it. They distributed widely the following message:

> The people of Berkeley passionately desire personal fulfillment, vital interpersonal relationships, and inner peace.
>
> 1. Jesus Christ will free all who come to him from bondage to the crippled self, the maimed world, and the scheming devil.
> 2. He will enable all who come to him to develop their inner talents, abilities and resources to the fullest.
> 3. He will turn the schools into training grounds for liberation of the inner self.
> 4. He will destroy the powers that bind us as we turn to him, the only one who truly serves the people.
> 5. He will provide for the full liberation of men and women as a necessary part of the revolutionary process of building his family.
> 6. He will take responsibility for basic human needs.
> 7. He will make drugs obsolete.
> 8. He will bring a new spirit of concern and cooperation among people who turn to him and trust him for moment by moment direction.
> 9. He will continue to show his concern for the poor and oppressed people of the world.
> 10. He will eliminate fear of tyrannical forces and powers.
> 11. He will create a soulful Christianity in Berkeley.
> 12. He will govern perfectly.
> 13. He will unite Berkeley Christians with others throughout the world to demonstrate his alternative to the present world system in all of its manifold manifestations.
>
> Sisters and Brothers, unite with Jesus, assist and create, build a revolutionary Berkeley, with your friends, your Lord, your God, form liberation committees, carry out the program, choose the action and do it, set examples and spread the Word.
>
> We call for sisters and brothers to form liberation committees to implement his program. POWER THRU THE SPIRIT. ALL POWER THRU JESUS.

The missionaries wanted to be an alterantive to the Establishment and to the radicals.[36] They prayed to see if God would sustain them, call more brothers and sisters, and make it happen.

Footnotes to Chapter I

[1] During this time a local dairy, Berkeley Farms, closed their commercials with the exclamation, "Cows in Berkeley!" The presence of Jesus in this city would, to many, seem no less surprising.

[2] Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "The Radical Turn in Theology and Ethics: Why It Happened in the 1960s," in Herbert J. Bass, ed., The State of American History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970), p. 100.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 103.

[5] Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969).

[6] The term "high places" is used in the Old Testament to designate nonapproved places of worship, often shrines for the worship of Baal. In The Triumph of the Therapeutic (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), Philip Rieff has described a contemporary situation in which the vitalities of life are thought sufficient, where once a vital faith was sought. Instinctual renunciation is a tyrannous ogre from the past, no longer even understood and all the more castigated. If art and science took the place of faith for an enlightened establishment, the self replaces faith for the masses. This is a time of "the systematic hunting down of all settled convictions" (p. 13), "sexual opportunism of individuals" (p. 16), lives "with a minimum of pretense to anything more grand than sweetening the time" (p. 22), an "eternal interim ethic of release from the inherited controls" (p. 23). It is a culture in which one is "born to be pleased" (p. 25), not saved, in which doctrines are not important, but only "permission for each man to live an experimental life" (p. 26), in which the tragic sense is eliminated and people spend their time believing in the green light (p. 27). There are virtuosi of the self (p. 32), people intent on being kind to themselves (p. 55). "Clarity about oneself supersedes devotion to an ideal as the model of right conduct" (p. 56). "Not the good life but better living is the therapeutic standard" (p. 58). The pilgrim has become a tourist (p. 62). A new myth has arisen, the myth of psychological man. "I am merely announcing his presence, fluttering in all of us, a response to the absent God. In so doing, I say that the modern man is not in the position of a wise man exhibiting a fool, or that of a healthy man examining the sick; we are all fools, all sick—and until we can control the shock of this recognition we shall not be able to assess the character of our age correctly. That a new myth of man is developing, at least among the educated classes, seems evident to me. It is a response to the divisiveness and destruction without and

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to the chaos within. But we are ourselves involved in the creation of this new myth of man and cannot be expected to see the type in clear perspective" (p. 40).

[7] Theodore Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), p. 389.

[8] Arthur Darby Nock, Conversion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 32, 48, 120, suggests that at a time of social disintegration in the ancient world one *used* the mystery cults rather than belonged to them.

[9] In The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970), Charles Reich has taken everything he could find that looked good, and not a little that is silly, and constructed a one-sided ideal type of the youth culture. He called it "consciousness three."

[10] This is a thesis of Kirkpatrick Sale, SDS (New York: Random House, 1973). In One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 14, Robert S. Ellwood, Jr. describes the "new politics": "It seemed to expect that a single decisive blow, if fired by a pure and uncompromised new consciousness, could vanquish the past and inaugurate the new age. Its characteristics were concentration on a small number of emotionally powerful issues connected with life-style values rather than party politics in the ordinary sense. The 'new politics,' then, was essentially a symbolic crusade expressive of the sense of alienation of a minority group with a different cosmic vision, expressing itself through alternative means as well as ends."

[11] Ellwood, One Way, pp. 11-14, lists eleven elements of the "psychedelic culture": 1. Psychedelic experience defined the fundamental vision of reality. 2. Subjectivity was the key to reality. 3. The goal of life was the "high." 4. Related modes of expression—art, music, the light show, and crafts—were all centered around the induction of this "high" or were at least reminders of its possibility. 5. This generation had a sense of belonging to a new era. 6. There was a new relationship to the cosmos. 7. This led to a reaction against science and technology. 8. Even more fundamental was a reaction against history. 9. Eastern religions, and the western occult tradition, were popular. 10. All the foregoing led to a new politics. 11. It was a movement based in urban society.

[12] John Arthur Thomas Robinson, Honest to God (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963); Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: Macmillan, 1965); Gabriel Vahanian, The Death of God (New York: G. Braziller, 1961); Thomas J. J. Altizer, The Gospel of Christian

Atheism (Philadelphia: Westmister Press, 1966); Thomas J. J. Altizer and William Hamilton, Radical Theology and the Death of God (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966); Richard Rubenstein, After Ausschwitz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966); Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1965); Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961).

[13] Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman, eds., New Theology No. 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 11.

[14] U.S. News & World Report, 20 March 1972, p. 61.

[15] Marty and Peerman, New Theology No. 7 (New York: Macmillan, 1971).

[16] Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1960.

[17] William G. McLoughlin, "Introduction: How Is America Religious?" in William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah, eds., Religion in America (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), p. x.

[18] Dean M. Kelley, Why Conservative Churches Are Growing (New York: Harper & Row, 1973). Kelley argued that conservative churches offer meaning, demand, and commitment, and also seriousness, strictness, stability, continuity, and predictability.

[19] William G. McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism (New York: Ronald Press, 1959).

[20] Bibel und Kirche, Heft 2/2 (1972), p. 35.

[21] Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), traces the growth of the new evangelicalism. Ellwood, One Way, p. 24, offers this definition of evangelicalism: "Wherever there is Protestant simplicity, melodious hymns, warm and emotional preaching, and felt personal conversions to Christ, where there are revival meetings and perhaps gifts of the Spirit such as speaking in tongues, where the Bible is believed quite literally and the church tries above all to relive the New Testament, there is evangelicalism."

[22] Rosemary Reuther, "The Free Church Movement in Contemporary Catholicism," in Marty and Peerman, New Theology No. 6 (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 275.

[23] Erling Jorstad, That New-Time Religion: The Jesus Revival in America (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972).

[24] Ellwood, One Way, pp. 18-20, attempts to show that eight of the eleven characteristics of "psychedelic culture" (mentioned in note 11 above) are also characteristic of evangelicalism and have been carried over into the Jesus movement. 1. Subjectivity is the key to reality. 2. The goal of life is a high—the joyous assurance of knowing Jesus. 3. Expression through music is central, as are the visual symbols of Bible and cross and an idealized rural past. 4. There is a sense of belonging to a separated culture, a New Age. 5. The heritage of fundamentalist belief in miracles, literalism, and separation from worldly culture are in long-standing tension with science and technology. 6. There is a suspicion of history; the essential events and authority of the Bible are in a separate lasting category from the rest of human history. 7. The political role of evangelicalism in America has much in common with the new politics of the counterculture. 8. The most spectacular achievements of evangelicalism in the last hundred years have been in the large cities. Their rhetoric involves an obvious appeal to the problems of subjectivity and the nostalgia for an idealized rural milieu which haunt the urbanite.

[25] Hal Lindsey, with C. C. Carlson, The Late Great Planet Earth (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970). In July 1974 this book was in its forty-third printing. The cover trumpeted: "4,390,000 copies in print." The pitch on the back cover may suggest why: "In an effort to satisfy man's age-old curiosity about the future, modern-day prophets and astrologers are enjoying the greatest revival since the ancient days of Babylon. In the midst of the many prophetic voices clamoring to be heard, there are authentic voices which have been overlooked by modern, sophisticated man . . . the voices of the ancient seers of Israel, the Hebrew prophets. Three millenniums of history are strewn with evidence of their prophetic marksmanship and to ignore their incredible predictions of man's destiny and the events which are soon to affect this planet will be perhaps the greatest folly of this generation." Lindsey's second work, again with C. C. Carlson, Satan Is Alive and Well on Planet Earth (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1972), was in its twelfth printing in July 1974, with 1,300,000 copies in print. His third work, There's a New World Coming (Santa Ana, Calif.: Vision House Publishers, 1973), was in its eighth printing in February 1974, with 800,000 copies in print. His fourth work is The Liberation of Planet Earth (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974).

[26] Rolling Stone, 5 April 1969.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 15 March 1969.

[29] Ibid., 5 April 1969.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 20 September 1969.

[32] The Greek verb splangnizomai, used of Jesus as he surveys the crowds coming to him, has this flavor.

[33] Nock, Conversion, p. 13.

[34] These were patterned after the famous satire of C. S. Lewis, The Screwtape Letters (New York: Macmillan, 1943).

[35] A fascinating tale particularly of this first year is Jack Sparks, God's Forever Family (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974). Many of these anecdotes are taken from that work.

[36] CWLF's program was written as a statement-by-statement answer to a current radical program. It typifies CWLF's relations with political radicals of that time. An attempt was made to show how the radical program would ultimately short-circuit and how the way of Christ was a better way.

CHAPTER II

PORT OF CALL

"'Berkeley' is not a school; it's a state of mind. Berkeley is where you don't have to know people to talk to them, where you don't need money to live, where you don't have to own land to build parks. Berkeley is right out in the open—not behind closed doors—in the streets which have ceased to be the locus of the aimless interminable 'traffic' of commercial life."[1]

Berkeley is Mecca for thousands of young American pilgrims. It is a new or last frontier for regressive fantasy. It is sacred space where the future may be relocated. It is a magnet which attracts the filings produced and brushed away by the American machine. It is bare feet in quiet spasms beneath dirty blankets half-covering the misery of the street. The shrines of new religious consciousness are here. New gurus stop for a cup of wine and share their bread.

Thousands of American young people find it necessary to come to terms with Berkeley. For some of these pilgrims Berkeley is a beginning. For some it is a rite of passage. For some it is an Eden where they have learned to know good and evil and from which there is no going home. And some think they have found here a direction home again.

People may undertake a voyage to escape or to go home or to meet people or to find themselves. It is not surprising that Berkeley calls to port men and women whose passports are stamped with differing and multiple realities, whose psycho-histories are bizarre and ordinary, whose birthrights are Christian, Jewish, and "other," whose goals are divergent and complementary. Some of these found their way into the Jesus movement in Berkeley.

In this chapter twelve people who came into Berkeley's Christian World Liberation Front tell their stories. These spiritual histories are arranged in three groups: those who "came home" to the Christian World Liberation Front; those who came to find a place to be somebody; those who came seeking authenticity in Christian life-style and services.

1. Coming home

Homecoming is a powerful image. George McGovern in 1972 wanted to utilize its evocative power in his campaign slogan, "Come Home America." The old revival song beckons: "Softly and tenderly Jesus is calling, calling to sinners Come Home." What is this homecoming? After long and tortuous wanderings, after crushed hopes and burnt-out lives, suddenly there is the discovery of peace, comfort, healing, security, rest, salvation. You ease tiredly down on the bed, take off the heavy shoes with the dust of the road, a brother runs for a cold glass of water, you sleep soundly, and the family table is set when you awake. Home again means love, happiness, purpose. All this the evangelist presents, and some prodigal sons and daughters respond.

In his Harvard Dudleian lecture, Robert Bellah talked about the experience of nothingness and existential despair. He called the lecture

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"No Direction Home."[2] Bellah's hopefulness was not about a "way back," but about the possibility of rebirth in the midst of death. With Thomas Wolfe in Look Homeward, Angel, Bellah denies the possibility of going home again. Instead, he says: "The experience of nothingness exposes man as the creator of his own myths and that is not only a frightening but also an immensely creative experience."[3] The revivalist offers instead a jump of the centuries to the security of the Biblical Christ and, at the same time, the immediate presence of Jesus in one's heart. (In practice, neither Bellah's alternative nor the evangelist's is as polarized from the other as may appear.) What Bellah denies the pilgrim-as-intellectual, the four who tell their stories here seem to say they have found—an "absolute home." Yet, as their life histories are followed through this book, that claim, may need revising.

A conversion experience involving "inviting Jesus into one's heart" seems central to the stories of those who came home. Over and over in the fellowship one hears described the sense of freedom, the weight lifted, the rush of joy, the filling of emptiness, when that simple invitation is prayed. With that invitiation comes the new identity of being a member of the Father's "Forever Family."

Glock and Stark have called part of what seems evident in these homecoming stories "psychic deprivation."[4] Home life has been unsatisfactory. There has been a quest for new values, new faith, new meaning and purpose. Despair, estrangement, and anomie were characteristic prior to conversion. Glock and Stark believe that in America resolutions to psychic deprivation tend to be religious and that a cult is the most likely religious response. In their study of the Jesus movement, Peterson and Mauss see the search for identity or for a new self-concept as an indicator of psychic deprivation.[5] The new self may come via rebirth or conversion.

2. Coming to find a place to be somebody

The people who tell their stories in this group were Christians before they came to Berkeley and the Christian World Liberation Front. In some ways people in this group are simply at a different state in their spiritual life cycle than people in group one. Some of these in group two had conversion experiences late in life, some early. Most had not experienced a life full of joy and peace. They were not satisfied with their "Christian walk." They thought they should be getting something more out of it. They did not seem to belong. They were still looking for their place in a community, in a family of brothers and sisters who would respect and love and appreciate them. Christian World Liberation Front looked to be the chance to be somebody, a place where God might hand them just the ministry appropriate for them and the appreciation of a close family for such a ministry.

Among those whose stories fit in this group there is a sense of being led, of needing to come to find a place, of problems of ego strength, of acute need of family or nourishing community. They need to belong, to find status, to be important to others and to themselves, to be satisfied in their Christian life-style.

Glock and Stark's discussion of social deprivation may help to interpret the stories of these people. Society values some attributes and characteristics more than others, Glock and Stark note, and distributes its rewards accordingly. "Social deprivation is additive in the sense that the fewer the number of desirable attributes the individual possesses the lower his relative status."[6] Social deprivation is more related to social status than class. It is based on one's perceptions about his prestige and social acceptance compared to those of other people. In some ways, Christian World Liberation Front may serve as an "alternative status system" for members of this group who did not find what they were looking for in the churches. The Jesus movement may be meeting such needs in a way that existing religious structures did not.

Again following Glock and Stark, Peterson and Mauss[7] see the relative powerlessness and role strain among those in their late teens and early twenties to be related to the generally youthful social base of the Jesus movement. The Jesus movement gave status to those whose psychology, religion, and youth left them without it.

It is impossible to overemphasize the sense of belonging or status which comes to some of very low ego strength or inadequate personality when they come into the Jesus movement. Many whose stories are not told here are apt illustrations of A. D. Nock's comment in his book on conversion in the ancient world:

> The small man in antiquity suffered from a marked feeling of inferiority and from a pathetic desire for self-assertion, of which the epitaphs supply abundant illustration. By adhesion to a society like the Church he acquired a sense of importance; "Quartus, a brother" could have his place in Paul's greeting to the community at Rome.[8]

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3. Coming to be authentic

The stories here are of people whose personal lives are together, who seem to have strong and healthy egos, who, in Abraham Maslow's terms, are growth-motivated and self-actualizing. In many cases such people come into the Jesus movement to shed middle-class Christianity and formal models of ministry. They are trying self-consciously to be radical (read: pure, pristine, first-century-like, strongly committed) in their life-style, in their ministries, and in their theology, sometimes joining themselves to the Jesus movement to urge such a task. Berkeley and the Christian World Liberation Front seem to appear an appropriate place to begin.

These people have a sense of where they are going and what they want to do with their lives. They are likely to develop ministries with energy and creativity wherever they feel God calling them (and their vision directing them). They are among the most significant people in CWLF in terms of input; yet they could most easily forge ahead without interruption or regret if CWLF were to disappear.

Possibly what Glock and Stark call "ethical deprivation"[9] may help to interpret these stories. By that term Glock and Stark mean value conflicts between the ideals of individuals and the societies (or churches) in which they find themselves. There is a strong and self-conscious move from what is perceived as inauthentic toward what is perceived as authentic. The goals and style and commitments which society (or the churches) lay on these people are considered incompatible with what they see God calling them to be. Clearly, these people are more "inner-directed" than those in groups one and two.

Coming Home

Susan

For Susan, burned out after years in the Movement, Berkeley was a one-more-time last hurrah. She read in Time about a pretentious group calling itself Christian World Liberation Front, and brazenly co-opting the Movement in the name of Jesus. Angry and crazy, she drove her bus straight to Berkeley to find out who in hell these people were and rebuke them. Susan got saved.

Susan is twenty-seven and divorced.[10] She comes across strong, individualist, cool, mature, used to being on her own, sometimes serious and determined, sometimes radiating a most engaging childlike thank-you-Jesus, look-what-the-Lord-has-done joy. She lives alone in an apartment four blocks from Sproul Plaza and likes it that way. She has long hair, thick-lensed wire-rimmed glasses, and wears the usual uniforms of the counterculture.

"My parents are not Christians," Susan says. Then she smiles broadly, remembering I am a Lutheran, and says, "They're Lutheran." They are church-going people. When Susan thinks about it longer she decides she may have spoken too soon. She is less judgmental now than when she first became a Christian. Yet for them "church on Sunday morning is just like another hour of the week. The Lord is certainly not the center of their lives. They pray only when they're really hurting. My mother is really unhappy. My father drives himself in his work. They know nothing of a love and trust relationship in the Lord. My brothers and sisters are completely turned off. Atheistic. Agnostic."

Susan's father is a professor and her mother is a college graduate. Her father has always been very distant and her mother an object of contempt, abuse, and hate. One of the true miracles of her Christianity, Susan says, is her ability to initiate a loving relationship with her mother. A short time before she came to rebuke CWLF Susan had harangued her mother long distance, on Mother's Day, for three hours one night. When she recalls her mother's recent visit to Berkeley Susan "can scarcely believe what the Lord did."

Susan describes herself as "really a loser" as a child. She had many female friends and was a "buddy to most of the guys." She didn't date until her last year of high school, "and then it was a bummer." She liked a lot of time to herself. When her parents had to write a statement on her University application, her mother wrote that Susan was a loner. She was not a rebellious child, though most people at school might have described her that way. "I was really afraid of my parents. I didn't challenge them. I was especially petrified of my father. To this day I can't understand why. The other kids in the family didn't submit to that authority at all. My parents may as well have had a gun in their hand for all the fear I had though. But I disobeyed constantly behind their backs."

Susan had virtually no relationship with her father. They only spoke when necessary. She cannot explain this. She mentions she has been to "shrinks" over the years and they and her mother tend to mention that her father was gone when Susan was a baby. When he returned from military service, only nineteen years old, he was rejected by Susan.

Hurt, he soon gave all his attention to her new brother. Her father then entered professional school.

"He's really such a fine man. I can't figure it out. There's nothing frightening about him—although I'm still afraid of him. I really am. He doesn't show his feelings at all. I'm really threatened by that. I just hated my mother, for as long as I can remember, even when I was really small. I really don't know why. She's an extremely sarcastic person. She doesn't even know when she's being that way. She's a perfectionist. Everyone thinks she's one of the most fantastic people on earth. She keeps the house perfectly, entertains well, makes things, gives of her time to other people. All my life I heard, 'Your mother is so fantastic.' She demanded a lot of me in those areas, too. I just could not live up to it. She wanted me to sew well. I always messed up. She'd rip it all out and make me start over."

Politically, her parents were "conservative to wishy-washy." Susan says her mother could be persuaded to vote Communist one minute and fascist the next. Her father is "definitely to the right, but not extremist. He votes consistently Republican."

There was no one Susan could relate to. Sex "absolutely was never discussed." It came up only two times that she can remember throughout her home life. Once a girl they knew had to get married and her father said it was a high price to pay for a little pleasure. The other time was when Susan started her period the first time. When her father came home her mother said, "Susan became a woman today." Susan says, "I just wanted to run and hide . . . and did."

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Susan is not sure she respected her father. "Perhaps I worshipped him from afar. And feared him." She recognized he was "really a far out man to other people. I couldn't miss that. People really looked up to him." At one time she had no respect for him at all, classifying him in a middle-class bag with a swimming pool and all the rest. She does not think either of her parents is happy. She wonders if her father may now have the fifty-year itch. "I have seen happy marriages since I've been a Christian. Theirs definitely is not." Yet she thinks they do care for one another. Mostly she is sure she would never want a marriage for herself modeled after that of her parents.

Susan does not recall much from her childhood and high school years. "I guess I've done a royal job of blocking." She was always a "freaky kid, out for the underdog. Everyone wanted to be nurse; I wanted to be a social worker. I guess I felt I had to have a purpose to justify my existence."

That she found in the Movement. In her sophomore college year she joined the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). "There I found available numerous duties to give one as young and idealistic as myself a feeling of 'serving the cause.' A leaflet would be written; I'd type it, run it off and spend hours distributing it. A political figure would come to town; I'd forego studies and sleep to make posters and phone demonstrators." Susan does not feel she was particularly victimized by male chauvinism in the Movement. She was active both in her University town and in a center nearby. She became involved in New

Mobe, CORE, SNCC, the Socialist Party, and the W. E. B. Dubois Club. In the latter she taught courses in black history.

"Somewhere along the line, my concern for the victims of social injustice began to take second place to the growing hatred I began to feel for those I held responsible—the war machines, the church, the Birchers, the political chiefs, the so-called establishment and their flunkies, the pigs. I became obsessed by a determination to destroy or at least radically expose the guilty. I was almost equally angry at the white middle class—my own people—who sat placidly back in their disgusting silence while black children only blocks away lived with rats and went hungry. Whether it was my anger at the WASP world and complete distaste at being identified with them or simply active rebellion, I chose to live with and finally in 1967 marry a very militant black civil rights leader."

She believes hate alone kept her going when she was deep into the Movement. "We thrived on hate, frustration and anger. What strong motivators these are. I have wondered since why hate seems to be a stronger motivation than love. I needed only to look at a cop and my anger became so intense I could 'fight' him for hours. When I dreamed of them, they actually had sheets of skin rather than features on their faces—so thoroughly subhuman did I find them."

During her college years Susan's sexual experiences revolved around her radical friends. She saw John steadily and many other men as well. Socially the scene was "just sickening. A whole bunch of people screwing together in the same room, really gross. I just had to fall into that with the group I was with. I really hated it then, too. I remember thinking how sickening it all was. Divorces all over the place. Couples fighting it out all the time. The whole scene was sick. I wasn't ready to buck the crowd. I looked up to all of them so much—politically. They were almost all older than those of us from the University. There were lawyers and people prominent in the Left. I was flattered that they accepted me. I'd have kissed their feet. The status of going with John was fantastic. He was highly respected. Everyone knew who he was. He was about six years older than I. Women also were very prominent. They didn't just have shit roles."

Susan remembers that her grandmother was dying of cancer at that time. "I loved her more than anything in my whole life. I stayed with her twelve hours and my mother stayed twelve hours. When my father called in the middle of the night to tell me she had died, John answered the phone. This was before they knew I was married. My father never said one word to me about it. Just let me sweat it out."

Susan married her husband a year after graduation. "I was influenced tremendously by him. I saw him as kind of a god in terms of politics. He was really together. I knew he wasn't together otherwise, however. We were into the War on Poverty and Vista." Susan and her Movement friends went back and forth between their University town and a nearby large city where CORE was strong and active. Her husband was chairman of CORE when she met him. She didn't tell her parents of the marriage until five months after. She knew her father was getting the brunt of her political activities already, since the newspapers where her

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parents lived carried regular accounts of Movement activities at the University. The gossip she knew her father was hearing and which was hurting him infuriated Susan. "Never to this day has he said anything about it." She developed an ulcer that year she kept her marriage secret.

When she did tell her parents, she was living out of the state and her father immediately flew there to welcome her husband into the family. Later a banquet was given in that city in her father's honor and he insisted that his daughter and her husband sit at the head table. "He introduced us to the whole group—many of them Birchers for sure. We were really nervous at the banquet. I didn't know how to act, and I was afraid John wouldn't go. It took a lot of guts for my dad to do what he did. I was really thankful to him. And I felt proud before John. John had expected to be rejected completely."

Susan lived in the Southeast for three years, part of the time teaching in the public schools and always remaining active in Movement activities. She got a divorce during this time. "John said I was irresponsible, immature, childish, and didn't know what was good for me. My parents were delighted to agree with that. My version is that he wanted a possession. It was a strange conflict. He had treated other women the same way. He wanted a fighter, someone involved, open, aggressive, but totally submissive to him in every other area but the Movement. To everyone but him I was supposed to be domineering and outgoing."

Susan came to California and took a job as a Continuation High School counselor. "I was a lousy counselor. I took drugs with my students. Our heads were in the same place. I just had a few years on them." Susan was dropping out.

Then in a graduate seminar in psychology everything exploded. "I found myself delightfully psychotic. I quit my job, gave everything away, traveled around on a motorcycle, had dope and sex everywhere, the more sane I got the more horrible it was." Susan wondered if insanity is the only freedom. "It's too unreliable, subject to flashes of sanity and also to the threat of physical restraint imposed by society. As the flashes of sanity became more constant, I was faced with the total despair of life with no meaning, purpose, or goal. I realize now that prior to my crack-up I had kept myself so occupied with political action that either I had escaped the question of purpose or subconsciously my activism had satisfied the question. Now without it and with nothing to replace it, sanity was sheer hell."

For two months Susan traveled the West Coast on her motorcycle. "During that time I often had to suppress the feeling: 'Am I going to do this forever.' I had a sense of nothingness. I'd given away everything. Life was worthless." During this time her sexual encounters were mostly with other women, something she had long considered and occasionally tried in the past.

In a "testimony" Susan has written: "It was at this crux of complete despair that I encountered the living God through Jesus Christ. I found my needs filled—plus a new power for motivation." This was the time she had read about Christian World Liberation Front and had come to Berkeley to rebuke it. "No matter what I did, it was love toward me.

That made the difference. I was living in my VW bus. They asked me if I wanted to park it in the driveway of one of the Christian Houses." First she went to the Monday Night Family Meeting. She talked to many brothers and sisters. She would be sitting on campus and one would come up and talk with her. She wondered if they were tailing her. They seemed able to answer all her questions. She never met Jack Sparks at this time. "A lot of people I talked to then impress me the least now. I never would have selected them as the ones to 'witness to a person like me.' God used them in his own way I guess."

She was in a class one night that was talking about love. "God gives Christians the power to love one another," they were saying. "I realized that's what they were doing to me. I went up to the leader after it was over. How can I find that kind of love? He told me to ask Christ into my life and asked me if I wanted to pray with him. I said No. I didn't know how to pray and didn't want him to know it. I had come to a sense of being a totally empty, worthless person. That night I went back to my bus and challenged the Lord to do with me what he had done with the others. I had an immediate awareness of supernatural presence. There's no way it can be explained except supernaturally. Nothing about my circumstances had changed. I didn't know enough about the Bible to expect a new blueprint for living—and didn't receive one. Whenever I doubt, I think about that experience. God was manifesting himself to me personally. So much has changed since then. I had been horribly lonely, even in the presence of other people. I have a sense of not being alone anymore. This all happened in a week—to my amazement and theirs. I can sure see the Lord guiding me."

When I asked Susan if she considered herself more emotional or more reasonable, she said: "I can still cry over a cat, but in terms of faith, it's what works, not emotion." On her interest in eschatology Susan says, "I believe in the last things but have very little interest in them. Eternal life is not at all what drew me to the Lord." At a dialogue between Christian World Liberation Front and the Graduate Theological Union, Susan said: "In my life as a Christian, the most exciting thing is I can ask God for love to somebody and he'll give it to me. There's no way I could have loved my mother before. Also cops, but I still have problems with some of my old feelings there." Susan does not consider herself a mature Christian. She was frightened to speak at the dialogue and said she "didn't know the language." But she added, "Basically I know who's in control. I know where to go for the answers."

Susan lived on in her bus for several months and then went back home to establish a different relationship with her family. "It was really good. I learned a lot about their problems." She began praying the Lord to lead her into some full-time Christian work. "I wanted so bad to go to Puerto Rico and work in a Christian orphanage that I told the Lord this must be his will." It wasn't. The death of two of her ex-students at Continuation High School brought her back to Berkeley. She had written to Jack Sparks and he had urged her to raise support and come on the Christian World Liberation Front staff. At the age of one year (in Christ) Susan joined the staff. Susan believes God has used Christian World Liberation Front to give her a new life.

Comments

The story of Susan and others is followed through this book: how she "raised support," how her sexual identity evolved, what role she played in women's liberation, how she reevaluated her Movement politics, how she related to the brothers and sisters in the Forever Family, how she felt a burden for and then developed a tutoring program at Berkeley High School, how she moved from that to other ministries.

But Susan's story calls for some interpretation already in this chapter. Susan has come home. She found the direction in Berkeley. She found a Father in God. Someone she can trust and talk to, someone faithful and loving enough to give herself to. She was so drawn to her own father and heard so many admiring remarks about him, but she could never relate to him. She could fear but not love him. When her mother, whom she despised, rushed to announce to her father that Susan "had become a woman," Susan could only run and hide. Whom could she give herself to? Who was she? She was not her father's little girl.

She was a friend, a defender of mankind, especially the dispossessed. She joined the Movement and gave herself to it. Then she found John—a real man, someone to look up to, to give her status and identity, to represent the mind of the Movement. But Susan had grown up. The Movement had given her some identity and she discovered finally that she could not reconcile what she had felt herself become with what John wanted her to be. She left.

Perhaps then Susan's identity was a homosexual one. "Home" would not be with a man. Having flirted with Lesbianism before, Susan began to experiment considerably. She found little satisfaction and often was burned. Women were no more "home" for Susan than men.

In utter loneliness and emptiness she seems to have caught a glimpse of love among brothers and sisters in the CWLF family. Alone and apart from this family Susan risked asking that Father's love to show itself in her own life. Susan invited God to make a home with her. The months succeeding Susan's conversion are rich in new experiences and emerging identity, but it seems that Susan had become God's virgin, giving herself to him and eager to go anywhere for him—especially to an orphanage to work with children. But Susan was to come back to Berkeley, and the occasion was the death of two of her (female) students.

When I first interviewed Susan, she said she never wanted to get married, that it would take a miracle and it would be a miracle she didn't want God to work. At that time she had begun a tutoring ministry to Berkeley High School students. Susan had warmth and compassion to share. But she mistrusted it, except with young students. Two months after that first interview she talked for the first time with brothers and sisters at a CWLF Christmas retreat about the problems of sexual identity and the bouts with Lesbianism even a Christian might have to fight. A month after that I interviewed her again, and she talked, although somewhat shyly, of the possibility of getting married someday. She said she was feeling she could love a man.

Erik Erikson says that people who failed at being born once want to have another chance to be born.[11] Susan did not seek a fusion with the earliest past as did some of the men Kenneth Keniston studied.[12] But her late adolescent crisis, intensified as one try at identity after another failed, was nearly resolved when she epxerienced new birth, when love replaced hate, when a new family removed her utter loneliness. It was yet another year before Susan began to see a possibly fuller identity than that of God's virgin. She had found a Father; she had found herself. She might want to find a husband, a brother in Christ.. But this was no coming home to a pre-liberation mentality. Susan had gone through too much for that, as will be seen later.

Susan had come home to God's family. That was preeminent. As a Christian she began to find some things "handed back" to her to work out. Certainly her mother and father. Also the possibility of a secure sexual identity which might include loving a man. Also her political identity. Susan began to explore what it might mean to be a leftist Christian. She changed and her changes are changing CWLF. Scarcely anyone was unaffected by the identity Susan brought into the Forever Family and by the person Susan found herself becoming as a Christian.

Jerry

Jerry is twenty-five, wears sunglasses perpetually, looks eccentric, acts eccentric, and is immediately recognizable as someone "different" among the brothers and sisters in CWLF. Some are suspicious of him, some think him strange, some think him "one of the most mature and solid Christians around." Everyone agrees that he is interesting and that his column in "Right On," CWLF's newspaper, is interesting. Jerry has tried the occult and LSD and gay liberation, and they all somehow linger about him in a suggestive way. He carries an atmosphere with him that smells of good and evil and of the power of God to change things.

He was brought up in a fundamentalist Christian family and went to Bible Church as a child. "That soon lost its charms. The church was very isolated from the rest of the world. I wanted to see what the rest was doing. I had some personal problems, too." After high school he came to San Francisco, in 1966. There he mixed "with a lot of disreputable people—in between hippies and beatniks. At first I didn't see or take much drugs."

The "hippie thing" began to intrigue him as a liberating life-style, especially compared to the "restricting, stifling, upper middle class Christian life style." It was a breath of fresh air. He began associating with psychedelic drugs and people. He read Timothy Leary's Playboy interview. Instead of really getting into college he got into drugs. The Leary interview consumed him and he knew he had to try LSD. He and some friends "got hold of some and turned on in this big mansion, Friday the thirteenth. We were listening to the music of Messiaen. It was a fantastic experience. Unlike what I ever would have expected. I had a mystical trip the first time. There was a beautiful room, a foyer of heaven, and lots of archetypal God images. The trip reawakened me to the spiritual side of life—a real one, not just handed down from

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tradition. It led me to study Eastern religions and the Bible. This was the beginning of my struggle to see how Christian metaphysics and Eastern thought would be reconciled, if at all." He continued to take acid occasionally and began studying astrology. He adopted a Zen macrobiotic diet.

"I became really neurotic, too. I had such hang-ups. I had been to a psychiatrist in high school. Acid dredged up so much. I couldn't concentrate on studies. I had straight A's the first semester and then I went downhill and dropped out. My experiences were too earthshaking to continue on with school."

He was trying to find the spiritual Truth. He began reading Alan Watts and Karl Barth. He wanted to believe in the reconciliation of Christianity and Eastern thought. "But some things seemed irreconcilable, for example, the bodily resurrection and a Holy Spirit apart from you." He tried to work through four volumes of Barth's Church Dogmatics. "Eventually I sorted things out. Now I believe that revelation in Christ and Eastern metaphysics are worlds apart." But then he is able to add: "I saw what is essential in both and hence my understanding of Christianity is unorthodox. But CWLF is fairly loose, there is no rigid doctrinal statement, and we all believe in and have experienced Jesus Christ in our lives."

He is fuzzy about the relation of his present Christian faith to his former experience. He can say, "I wouldn't say I've been influenced too much by Eastern thought because I'm diametrically opposed to it." Then he can describe how he has more understanding of "those things" having been into them himself; even the nature of man is clearer to him for that reason. "I saw the clear white light through drugs. I understand."

He has an aura of mysticism about him, but he says, "I hate the word mysticism. I limit the term to the experience in which one feels he is at one with the God he believes is his own true self. There have been many Christian mystics, but I don't think they were in the mainstream of New Testament Christianity. I do believe you can have a direct experience of God, but in this age we live by faith not sight. The clear white light is a psychological experience—man turning inward, probably seeing the highest part of his being, made in the image of God. Hence it's very deceptive, leads to worship of the creature rather than the Creator. I'm a Christian and I've had mystical experiences, but they were in the past. It's not something I seek now. There is a difference between becoming at one with the spirit of the world and at one with the Spirit of God. I was so much into astrology. I could feel the changing of the planets, I could feel the sun moving from sign to sign. In Christ and in his Spirit I feel that awareness is disappearing." He describes how he "really crossed over." He had been very lonely in San Francisco. He saw the division arising in the hip culture, the coming of heroin and speed. In a San Francisco Chronicle story he had read about CWLF doing some picketing, and his parents had already written to mention a Christian group in Berkeley he should look into. He came to a Monday Night Family Meeting. A few weeks later he moved in with Jack Sparks' family. He was so excited he had begged them to take him in. "Here God had showed me a group of hip Christians—not old, not super-collegiate. Today they relate to straight people much better, too. I was a Christian before—for sure. The fact that Christ was real stuck with me. But here was a little group in Berkeley—excited, overflowing, full of joy and love, thrilling, people of my own type, long hairs, exciting to see that God is not abandoning the hip world. I had such a burden for the hip scene."

Jerry did not come home all at once. He went back to the Northwest for a year and was in a kind of limbo. He stayed away from the fellowship a lot while he was in the Bay Area. He often escaped across the Bay to his former haunts in San Francisco. He began selling psychedelic drugs again and was held up by speed freaks. Eventually he came back. But still he had unresolved problems. "LSD gave me a vision of what my life should be like, but not the power to act on it. It took years to come to terms with my problems and let the Lord work them out. I'm still working on a lot of them."

Some in CWLF know that he once took an ad in the Berkeley Barb, "Gay Hip male looking for good company." He never mentioned the struggle with homosexuality when I first interviewed him, but continually referred to heavy personal problems. In a Family Meeting once Jerry said, "I'd been a Christian for years and years, but was always running off to do my own thing. The hound of heaven chased me down and kept faithful to me." It may be that Berkeley was the place where the Hound ran Jerry home.

Comments

One feels that many of the cliché-sounding statements Jerry allows himself do not at all express the struggles he went through, but are now pat summaries of what he sees as the Answer to his former dilemmas and the peace and purpose he has now discovered. It is difficult to know how far into the drug culture or Eastern consciousness he was. He may have gone back to Christ before he hit bottom (or top) and thus a certain closure to that experience may have set in which makes it more difficult to reexamine it and face how much of it he wishes to incorporate into his life as a Christian.

On the other hand, Jerry tells his story as a spiritual quest. Certainly Susan was on a quest for identity, especially in view of severe unresolved family problems, but she never would have called it spiritual and she was never far into drugs. Of course, Jerry had long-standing personal problems and mentions that already in high school he had been seeing a psychiatrist. For a time, Jerry and Susan led a small group of brothers and sisters concerned about their Christian sexual identity. Jerry feels he is working through his own problem in the Lord rather than running back and forth between the problem and the Lord. He would like to spend a lifetime thinking and writing on the problem of sexuality. He believes there is an essential maleness and femaleness built by God into all creation and an eternal harmony between these should be one's aspiration. Whether he will ever be able to reevaulate his "Eastern" experiences or recognize their lingering presence, as Susan is doing with her Movement activities and ideologies, remains to be seen.

If going home again had meant a return to his fundamentalist youth, he would have stayed away. But in Berkeley he was overjoyed to discover a new direction home: "hip Christians, God gathering a community of people like me." It would be possible to see in this a discovery that you don't have to go home after all, or, in Christian terms, repentance is not necessary. It is just as possible to see in it the prodigal son's joyous response to the Father's unexpected acceptance and love.

Jerry's pride is perhaps too great for him to say how much of a "redemption" this was for him. Unlike others in this group, he insists that he was always a Christian. And he adds, "I had such a burden for the hip scene." In fact, the hip scene may have been a burden for Jerry. Or, Jerry was Jerry's burden.

Susan told her story as one in which God had let her reach the end of her rope and then completely turned her around and took her over. After a year or more he begins to give Susan back to herself and lets her work forward in her Christian maturity. Jerry does not tell his story this way. He does, however, mention that he is now working on his problems in the Lord, instead of alternating between his problems and the Lord. Or suppressing his problems and using his new Christianity to keep a lid on them.

Bryan

Bryan smiles a great deal, appears "mild-mannered" and always eager to help, worries about other people's problems, and does not appear to dominate those about him. Yet it is said that he is being groomed to take the place of the present business manager. Bryan lives in Dwight House, a Christian House upstairs, a meeting place downstairs, and the headquarters of CWLF in the basement.

He says he had "very, very little religious background." He remembers his mother taking him to an Episcopal Church in the fourth grade. His father never went to church except when Bryan was baptized. Bryan knew neighbors and friends went to church every Sunday. "But nobody believed. It was just something you're supposed to do. That's my image anyway."

In junior high school Bryan became very depressed and began asking God if he was there and would he let me know if he were. He recalls an intense three-day period of depression. Nothing happened. God didn't answer. "I put that aside for awhile." When he was a junior in high school he really wanted a new life. "I checked all the churches in town. I had no understanding of the differences. I figured God had something to do with churches. The only place something really seemed to be going on was the Christian Science Church, but I couldn't intellectually digest that. It also didn't seem to deal with my scars, hassles, family life."

For the next three years Bryan was convinced there was no God. He was very angry. There was no meaning. "I always challenged people who talked about a personal God. I became hardened to an idea of God. This lasted through my first year at college. I read Huxley, Sartre, Camus, Hesse. The only meaning lies in whatever choices we make."

Bryan's chief hassle throughout this time was over his sexual identity. "I was bi-sexual. It was learned behavior. My dad had a lot of problems. He kept it in the family. My sister and I were sexual objects. I also developed a close friendship with another bi-sexual guy. I couldn't convince my feelings that it was OK. I had tremendous guilt and shame. I wouldn't submit and I couldn't deny myself."

His second conflict was his intense dislike, anger, hatred of his father. His father was not bisexual, as he was. "He turned to sex very much as an outlet for his frustrations. He related to me sexually. [Bryan chooses not to say what this means.] On every other level my father is extremely moral and a legalistic person. Only sex was out of control for him. And only during my junior high and senior high years. He had a miraculous change for the better during my junior year in high school." Things went no better with his mother. "My mother always eventually sided with my father in family arguments. She is not a very bright or stimulating person. She began drinking a little. I was becoming New Left, my father was a staunch Republican, and my mother was becoming more and more reactionary."

Bryan says his grandfather died when his own father was fourteen. His grandfather was a stiff German aristocrat. His grandfather's father had also been like that. Bryan's great aunt and uncle were both homosexual. His father had two homosexual brothers, one of whom eventually committed suicide. His aunt also has "definite problems." When Bryan's grandfather contracted tuberculosis, his father had to learn not to touch, not to embrace "because it could kill." His grandmother had been told by the doctor to sterilize everything her husband touched. The children had to eat separately. "My father had no relationship at all with his father."

Bryan's father eventually became a very successful and well-to-do businessman, the president of a corporation. He had been in the Navy and had led a very disciplined life there. Two weeks after Bryan was born his father was called back to Korea in the Navy. He was gone for two years. When he returned all his time went to investments. "I saw him at the dinner table and sometimes on weekends. He was very demanding and extremely disciplinarian. It was totally impossible to live with his demands. My mother was very indulging. I thought she was a very generous, nice person. But we didn't really share anything. She took care of us, fed us, sometimes took us places. But we didn't really do anything together."

Bryan thinks he may be like his father in his seriousness. "And lately in my temper, too. Actually I admire him. He is very capable, unusual. People always said, 'Your dad is quite a man.' And I always thought, 'But I hate him.' I think my father was deeply feeling, too, but he had no way to translate this. When a strain came he either cut himself off or exploded."

Bryan went to college and did very well his first year, he says. His grade point average was good and he went through the year without any homosexual relations. He dated a few girls, but it was shallow and he felt tremendously inferior. Yet he was well liked. He was considered very serious but very kind-hearted (a character set that Bryan still evidences).

He went home for the summer thinking things were looking up in his life. He was determined to relate better with his father. At a dinner conversation the family talked about the Black Student Union. When his mother began quoting various radical spokesmen to whom she related negatively, Bryan pressed her for the source of the statements. His father said, "You think that now you're in college you can't learn anything?" Bryan said he thought he was learning some things in college and knew some things about the Black Student Union, and indeed could teach his father something about that. "Wham. He hit me with his fist and knocked me backwards right off my chair. I got up slowly. 'Come on,' I said. 'If you ever do that again, I'll kill you.' And I meant it."

Bryan left home and lived elsewhere the rest of the summer. He earned money captaining a forty-foot fishing boat. When he went back to college, his first quarter was a disaster. His grades were bad and he had terrible relationships. He knew some Christians and began engaging them in long discussions. He concluded that "if there was a God he was far away. If he was far, he would have to reveal himself for us to know anything about him." He became the assistant manager of an apartment house and things began to get better. He had a girl friend at the time who took him to a few meetings of Campus Crusade for Christ, a nondemoninational Protestant youth ministry.

"I didn't like it. One evening lying on the floor in my apartment I was telling her all my hassles. She said, 'Would you like to meet Jesus?' I got a real silly grin on my face. I felt ridiculous. 'You mean now?' She said, 'Yes,' 'How do I do it?' 'Just ask him, pray.' 'What do I say?' 'Show yourself to me.' I did and it was the strangest feeling I ever had. But I wasn't convinced at all. That's about it at that time. I prayed but I just kept doubting."

His junior year in college was not too good academically and he decided to do some make-up work in order to keep avoiding the draft. Just after he had decided to go to summer school in Berkeley and had informed his parents, his aunt who lived in the Bay Area called to ask how he was doing. When she heard he was coming to Berkeley she invited him to stay with her. "Was that coincidence or the Lord working?" He felt at this time that the Lord might be confirming him in his faith. He kept getting answers to his prayers.

When he left, some of his Christian friends gave him a New American Standard Bible. He thought it really great and liked it much better than the King James Version or the American Bible Society's Good News for Modern Man. "I got here on June 24th. I started reading the New Testament on June 25. I read it through by the end of July. On campus someone from the Christian World Liberation Front gave me a copy of Right On. We talked. I stopped by CWLF's card table in Sproul Plaza often. I was impressed. I listened to their conversations with others and often entered the conversation myself. I guess I was witnessing too. I always felt the need to defend Christianity."

Bryan became distressed with the theology of the church he was attending that summer. He felt he had more than the pastor did. The pastor didn't believe in the deity of Christ, the Bible as God's Word, and many other things. When he talked to Sherry, a woman from CWLF on campus, he knew that if there was faith it would have that quality he saw in her. He began praying a lot. He asked God to show himself more. He knew a faith would have to be deeper than that reflected in the conversations over the CWLF card table in Sproul Plaza, too. "The Christians just seemed to take it when a Black Muslim on campus used to come over and berate them."

One day he went to the hockey field on College Avenue and read all through the book of Romans. "I began watching some ants, one carrying a dead ant around. Finally he just put it down and walked off. There must be something more to death than that, I thought. Suddenly I saw God's relation to me in my relation to the ants. I could put food there, change their environment, touch them, but they really couldn't know me. Suddenly I saw that Jesus communicated God to me. He was God becoming a man, as I would have to become an ant if they were really to know me." He went to the House of Pergamos, a CWLF Christian House, to see if they had a good Christian library. He wanted to study up and prove to his pastor the deity of Christ. The person he knew at Pergamos asked him to go by bus to the Billy Graham Crusade then going on in Oakland. Bryan refused. "Billy Graham was just too much." Then he had an intense desire to go and drove there himself. He talked on the field of the Oakland Coliseum to someone who had come to disrupt. He was witnessing again. The man started crying. "I knew then if there was faith I had it. I came back the next night.

I didn't really hear a word Billy Graham said either night. But I heard the call and went forward. I was shaking like a leaf. My legs were rubber. I couldn't talk. 'Be my Lord, my life is yours,' I said. I had given up claim. That night as I was driving back I asked the Lord how he would use me. On a strange impulse I pulled off the freeway and went into a coffee shop. It was strange. I felt there was somebody there God wanted me to talk to. It was the first time I was convinced God was there and I had a part in it. But I had no understanding. I saw a girl. I didn't know how to start. The waitress spilled her tea. We started some small talk. I said, 'Why don't you go to the Billy Graham Crusade?' She turned to me with her mouth wide open. 'Are you a Jesus Freak?' I had never heard that term, but I said yes. She cried. She said she just needed somebody to talk with so much. I could see God was confirming himself to me again."

When he moved into the House of Pergamos shortly thereafter, he came one night to hear "a wee small voice," calling him to stay in Berkeley. "I'm still skeptical about that experience. The voice told me not to stay in school. I do realize now that if I had gone back to school I probably would not have followed in the faith. This was at the end of the summer."

Eventually Bryan moved from Pergamos to the much more stable Dwight House and joined the staff of CWLF. "CWLF is one of the best things that could have happened. Here is where I fit, whereas I wouldn't in many other places. There is amazing diversity, yet all working together. There is a rational, intellectual faith, but it's still faith. I'm free to become a person, my individuality is not lost, my humanity is being confirmed. Through CWLF God gave me a closer relation to himself and I'm learning to have an inner man not totally dependent on those around me." Bryan sees CWLF as chiefly a context for living a Christian life in relation to brothers and sisters. But it is not his primary stimulator or nourisher. That he found in his prayer and devotional life and elsewhere. But the fellowship was always causing him to question and cope. He kept wondering why there was no utopia if this was a Christian group. But he feels now that God kept him growing that way.

"The pressure and guilt just fell away after I came to Christ. I'm free to express myself. I don't have to flaunt my past, but I'm able to accept it. I don't have to die inside any longer every time I think of the past. When I first became a Christian a lot of hassles were removed. No more problems with sexual identity, volatile anger, and overly sensitive relations with other people. Now God's handing these problems back for me to work through. Lately I'm really blowing off a lot of steam."

His father accepted with good grace his not coming back to school. "Somehow he resisted the temptation to criticize. He said it was OK, but I should consider it carefully. There was care, not confrontation." Later Bryan received the "most touching letter I had ever received from my father. Dad's positive response was another confirmation from God. In the last two years dad and I have developed a pretty good relationship. Mom and I are beginning to get together.

My brother and I have become very close friends, although he is not yet a Christian. I still have no relationship with my sister. I shared the Lord with my brother's girl friend, who is living with him. She just cried and wanted to know more. My brother's a surfer and is more concerned with immediate pleasure right now." Bryan's father said he could see Bryan had found something, but he didn't quite understand what.

Bryan sometimes feels his personality doesn't really match the business type, but the business office has become his niche at CWLF. He still considers going into law. "I would like to serve the Lord wherever he points. I feel sure he'll open the doors for something suitable for me."

He has begun to take business school courses on the side. He thinks his temperament, like his father's, may be to work with tasks. "I never had so much fun as in my accounting class. But I don't think I'd ever find it worthwhile accruing wealth and prestige. I know the Lord and care that others do. Wealth and prestige are not my values. I don't have to authenticate myself through personal performance." Bryan does not see himself becoming a rich, successful businessman. His mother had always said, "You're not like your dad." "I was not competent like him. There is no way that I can be more competent than I am. The Lord will make of me what he can."

Bryan thinks he has found in CWLF "a deep awareness of God's presence, his grace, and lordship. God is the real love, meaning, and purpose in life. And I've been able to cope with my identity. I've been able to go to work on the major moral questions of my life. I've found my life has a center, there's a unity to it." Bryan also hopes to get married someday. He has always wanted a family. He thinks a wife and children would really be great—"especially before God."

Comments

Bryan has come home to himself. He has nearly arrived at his sexual identity, he likes himself, and he feels centered enough in the Lord to deal maturely with his old problems. Rather, he would say, the Lord has decided it was time to give Bryan back his problems and let him work through them now that he knows who he is and whose he is.

Like Susan Bryan had no relation with either parent. Susan hated her mother, Bryan hated his father. Susan feared and admired her father, Bryan felt no stimulus at all from his mother. Bryan was probably too ego-weak to throw himself into something like the Movement, as Susan did. He went through college struggling with his thoughts about himself, God, and other people. He was too timid and too well-controlled to go off on adventures as Jerry did. His struggle stayed inside.

Bryan may still have a lot of hostility to let out. He never really "blew" as Susan did. His personality has not miraculously changed into something else, but he feels he has found God (or God found him) and himself again. Once at a CWLF Communion service when Spanada was being poured into Dixie cups to pass around the room, an exuberant dispenser poured each cup full. There they sat nearly overflowing, as at the Wedding of Çana, waiting for Bryan to pass them around the room. He took each cup, very meticulously poured its contents into three other cups, and passed those cups, with lesser measure and smaller exuberance, and no extravagance, to the brothers and sisters. Once when I was invited to sit in on a day-long CWLF staff conference, Bryan was asked to distribute information sheets to all CWLF staffers. When I extended my hand he said, "You're not staff, are you?" and said I could not have one since his instructions were just to give the sheets to staff people.

It is curious that Bryan has ended up in the business office and feels that some kind of accounting (his father began his business career as a CPA) or business administration may be his eventual contribution to the Christian community. Is he pleasing his father after all? One thinks of Erikson's comment regarding Luther's marriage, a course of action his father had urged on him before he entered the monastery: "We do know that the son, when he did marry twenty years later, having in the meantime taken the vows of celibacy, broken with the Church, and set fire to the world around him, publicly proclaimed as his first and foremost reason for taking a wife that it would please his father."[13]

Or is Bryan only going through doors his new Father is opening up for him? If in some way he is following his father, it is certainly with a difference. "I don't have to authenticate myself through personal performance," Bryan said, and declared his disinterest in wealth, power, and prestige. Of course, Bryan's new Father may not be so demanding as his first father. If Bryan's mother told him he could not be like his father, Bryan has learned a touching basic trust toward his new Father, who surely "will open the doors for something suitable" for him. Now and then Bryan still talks about going into law. That was his goal when he first went away to college.

Bryan says he would like to get married someday. Interestingly, when he told me this he immediately mentioned always having wanted a family and said nothing of a wife. Possibly his relationships with sisters in the Lord are still very much on the surface and without a manifest sexual quality, though these relationships seem to be relatively free of former hassles and doubts.

Characteristically, Bryan did not come to Berkeley to "find himself" (Jerry) or to confront the Christians (Susan). He came, as it were, by accident. He had to keep his grades up to avoid the draft. He was in the midst of some kind of Christian struggle but he didn't know what a Jesus Freak was, had never heard of Christian World Liberation Front, and certainly didn't think of himself as a pilgrim.

Des

Des traveled the longest and most circuitous route of anyone in CWLF before finding the direction home. He was born in Australia, where his father was a professor of entymology. "The joy of my childhood and adolescence was to spend the summer weekends roaming the mountains and bushlands near my home town in search of beetles of every kind for a large collection that I amassed over the years." While he had a sense of individuality from his active hobby, he could not face "the gravity of adult life with its responsibilities." There was no meaningful communication within his family.

In his first year of college he satisfied himself with the camaraderie of drinking companions. He discovered that his family's values were not a life and death matter and were not necessary for survival or approval. He became a compulsive drinker and eventually dropped out and hitchhiked ceaselessly around and across Australia—usually alone and half-starved. "When I returned to the city I couldn't handle it, and I only got wasted again." He went to northwestern Australia and worked on mining and construction projects, earning enough to keep him going for two or three years. He met travelers full of tales of foreign lands and he tried drugs. He moved from acid through speed, morphine, and cocaine in Sydney. "I visited my family for two or three days a year, when I was traveling through, and our relationship grew ever more strained as they knew I was using drugs, but not how seriously. I used to feed my sickness by reading junk literature like Nova Express and existential psychiatry, and listening to acid-rock music up to fifteen hours a day under the influence of acid and other drugs."

For reasons he can't explain he used the rest of his money to buy a one-way fare on a slow boat to Panama with two friends. "Two days before I was helped aboard ship, I had a complete nervous breakdown in which I experienced dying and going insane as a result of overdosing myself with acid." Sick and paranoid on board ship and culture-shocked when he arrived, he left his friends and went on alone to South America. A family of poor people in Ecuador took him in when he could go no farther and became sicker and sicker. They "lovingly cared for me in a simple and earthy way that I had never experienced before." When he recovered, he went to Peru and fraternized with other travelers who gave him "the vision of psychedelic soldier-of-fortunehood." "I managed to stay away from hard drugs, but continued to indulge voraciously in dope and hallucinogens and once an over-large dose of STP caused me to have an epileptic-type fit, after which I tried to commit suicide with a knife." The friend who dissuaded him then journeyed with him down the Amazon in search of the "much-fabled telepathic and cure-all drug ayahausca."

"During the forty-five day expedition, we were at the mercy of the elements and the people, some of whom were medicine men of various occult calibres, who gave us the drug to drink, and demonstrated their powers to heal and conjure up demons under its influence, and others were people ridden with fear under the oppression of such black magic. Together these once conspired to kill us when 150 Indian people armed with machetes and clubs took us, the first pure white men they had ever seen, to be evil spirits and accused us of stealing a child by magic and had us a whole night in their hands. On another day, a poison was slipped into our food, shortly after we had experimented with it voluntarily and spent a day and a night floating down the river paralyzed and racked with insatiable thirst. Through a treadmill of such events, plus equatorial thunderstorms which threatened many times to wipe us out, we miraculously reached the city of our destination, together feeling that some spiritual force had protected us from fatal mishap. I didn't ponder too deeply that thought then, because I was exhilarated by the fact that I had experienced a complete healing from junk-sickness with the ayahausca, by its very purgative effects, and it converted me to vegetarianism and stimulated an interest in yoga."

After that he was arrested as a Communist spy in Brazil, received some money from home in Bolivia, had his money and passport stolen, and began to feel again that "circumstances were getting beyond my control." He went on a quest for mastery of such knowledge as might be controlling his destiny. "But each assault on complete enlightenment I found to end in a sophisticated intellectual system which could only rationalize my circumstances, but not control them." In Columbia he tried the magic mushrooms and nearly gorged himself to death—"another disregarded testimony to my dangerously compulsive nature."

He next met an old friend who was in the wake of a young guru from California. He was introduced to fruitarianism and then to Krishna doctrine. He was tremendously impressed by the powers and magnetism his friend had acquired. He was extremely ambivalent about being drawn into the group—fascinated and jealous and resentful. Soon he became "completely sucked into the inner group, now of seven, which had pooled all money for traveling expenses to Mexico and India. We disciples began the practice of fasting for longer periods, eating only mushrooms or dope, living in exposure to the elements, and occasionally I went into transcendental hallucinatory states for many days at a time, which either frightened or bored me; meanwhile the yogi worked his personal needs. One day he returned to us in the wild decked out in $15,000 worth of jewelry, having blown the lot on this so as to dress up like

Krishna, to whom he thought himself superior."

Convinced that they had been deceived but still under the yogi's power, he and three friends finally struggled free, captured the guru, exposed him to the group, took his jewelry, shaved his head, and eventually ended up imprisoned when the guru escaped. Des felt paranoid and completely unstable. No one trusted anyone. "I determined never to be deceived by any guru or wise man, no matter how apparently holy or charismatic, ever again." Somehow a woman gave him a fare to Miami and $50; he sold all he could and two days later ended two and a half years in Latin America "with another blow of culture shock."

He hitchhiked around and eventually came to California, getting a ride with someone who was into yoga, too. When they came in contact with the Shivakalpa cult in San Francisco, he became convinced that it was the same "oppressive bondage to a psychopathic, demon-possessed man claiming to be God." He visited a friend he had met in Columbia who was now at Christian World Liberation Front's Richmond House, staying for a week.

"I really felt warm love there, and even though the embarrassing effusions about Jesus seemed a bit sissy, I saw my own foolish naiveté exposed: the yogi had hoodwinked me into believing he had some special hot line to God, whereas the Christians each had their own personal hot line and community party line to God through Jesus! But I closed my mind to that." In a week Des wore out his welcome and returned to San Francisco, caving in all the way with a trip on acid and coke. "I felt the presence of two distinct spirits: one was constant, unchanging and clean, but separate from me; and the other appeared in a multiplicity of forms, fighting and erupting with great power within me, tempting me to act out the desires of my flesh: Jesus and Satan fighting for the allegiance of my soul. Satan kept provoking me to commit suicide, or return to drug addiction, or fast to death, because I knew life was hopeless and meaningless, and he said I should be consistent with my intellect. But Jesus' Spirit made me know that if I only started in His direction in spite of all my rationalizations to the contrary, He would get me through. I spent a long time looking for at least one good thing in me, but I kept finding that Jesus is the very embodiment of righteousness, inviting me to be forgiven and made whole by receiving Him if I'd acknowledge that I had been wrong in going my own way of trying to become God, and agree with Him that I am a sinner in need of a Savior, because a lifetime of knowledge, experience, self-willed efforts and self-improvement trips had got me only to the brink of hell. So I stepped out and He led me step by step of miraculous coincidences that left me in no doubt at all that He is the One, and He is trustworthy when you call out to Him for salvation."

Des was "delivered" to Richmond House a half-hour later and invited Jesus to take control of and responsibility for his life. Since then he feels he is cared for, been given good brothers and sisters through whom Jesus has poured out his love, and even been used to give love to others. "It's wonderful to be able to put down a whole rotten life and start anew with no regrets and see through all those intellectual and scientific deceptions that my head was filled with;

and to have the resurrected life of Jesus, which goes on forever, inside this cracked earthen vessel that will soon pass away." He thanks Jesus for keeping him from harm so long so that he could finally get to know Him. He wants to be used to tell all about Jesus, to tell people they can't get it together, that there's nothing new under the sun, and that all will pass away except Jesus' love. That is so real he experiences it springing up inside him every day.

Comments

Des presents a classic protrait of the wandering pilgrim who tries everything and then finally, utterly burned out, turns or gets turned away from it all, away from years of rich and terrible wanderings and experiences to find peaceful and simple closure—even fusion. After all he has been through he finds a loving family he can trust to love him. It's worth selling all his past experiences for. Jesus himself had talked about selling all in order to buy the pearl of great price. Indeed, it's a bargain for Des. His past has nearly killed his soul and body and mind. In a final struggle between Satan and Jesus, he chooses rebirth with Jesus. He immerses himself in a basic trust he had gone too long without.

The wandering spirit has not left Des. He has been traveling around the United States for several months and has now been advised by immigration authorities that he must return to Australia. He is going back as a witness to the direction home he has found in Jesus.

Des's comment about nothing new under the sun and nothing abiding but Jesus' love suggests a view of the earth as a temporary place where a long pilgrimage to Jesus goes on. Perhaps Des is trying to shorten other people's pilgrimage by sharing the end result of his own. He probably would call his previous life only nomadic. Somehow Des has achieved fusion—certainly not with a stern Puritan sky-god, but also not in drugs or Eastern thought. His fusion is with Jesus. Interestingly enough, Des has gravitated for his spiritual needs away from typical Christian World Liberation Front ministries. He has found his needs met in the Richmond House family, the most atypical of CWLF, and in Resurrection City, a "rival" Pentecostal ministry in Berkeley. There the person with a history of somatic problems and permanent scars from head-trips can lose himself in Jesus and the Spirit. Indeed, Des's theological language in his Right On testimony is much more the language of Resurrection City than of CWLF.

Death and the experience of nothingness is clear in Des's testimony. He personalizes this and says he could find not one good thing in himself. Is this a post-rebirth theological confession? Probably not, when one considers his previous life and the circumstances of his final wrestling with the devil and Jesus. Robert Bellah has written about the experience of nothingness and existential despair in his essay "No Direction Home." Such an experience is clear in Des's case, but Bellah's interpretation of such an experience would not resonate at all with Des's understanding of himself as a new Christian. Bellah writes: "And yet this radical and shattering experience is not ultimately an experience of despair. The powerful element of death in it is overcome by the vitality of rebirth. The experience of nothingness exposes man as the creator of his own myths and that is not only a frightening but also an immensely creative experience."[14] Des would want to say that he has been given new birth, that when a person has lowered into absolute despair, God can reclaim him and recreate him and reshape him. Luther may be the prime example of a homo religiosus undergoing such an experience.

Coming To Find a Place To Be Somebody

Mike

"I met the Lord Jesus when I was nine. Never had a doubt after that. I knew I was a sinner. One time we snuck off from school and ripped off a five gallon can of strawberry ice cream. Kept it all down. As later I kept beer down."

Mike is a (self) designated "pastor-teacher" in CWLF. His parents were Christians too. They went to a Disciples church and later to a Southern Baptist church "because they weren't getting spiritually fed at the former. We had been Southern Baptists three years when I came forward. I definitely was not a Christian prior to age nine. That was new birth that happened to me then. I came to know the one I knew about. I had heard Bible stories from my mother's knee. At age five the Holy Spirit was working with me through the external world—I was dreaming of stars. I knew there was a devil and that sometime I'd belong to one or the other. I was very aware of the antithesis—primarily from my mother's Old Testament stories. David and Goliath was my favorite."

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Mike talks freely of his own young children and how he looks at them in light of his own conversion experience. "Jonathan had a problem with whizzing [wetting] in bed. He woke up one night, Faye held him, and he said he wanted to ask Jesus into his heart so he would be clean. He had heard his Sunday School teacher talking about that to the older kids. Immediately the next day I began instructing him so he wouldn't just have an emotional experience to rely on, so that the basis of his faith would not just be his new birth experience." Jonathan was three years old at the time. Since then there have been many Bible stories; often they role-play Bible stories. The favorite is the Prodigal Son. David, his younger son, likes to play the pig. "At this point David is very conscious of the presence of Christ. Who can say if the new birth has happened in him? He's only three and a half now."

From his own childhood Mike remembers the time his strong, towering father was waiting in the darkness of the dining room in his underwear one night when Mike came home too late. He lunged forward and gave him one mighty blow. Mike flew back out the door to the ground. His father didn't say a word, but went straight to bed. Mike eventually came in too. He says he knows his father then forgave him.

Mike's parents are still Southern Baptists, though he now considers that shallow. He has a sister in Campus Crusade. He says his father has led many people to Christ. Mike, his father, and his two sisters are college graduates. Mike was an English major.

He read the Scriptures often in college. For three years he was on the associate staff of Campus Crusade. In those days Crusade was quite radical, before the campus upheavals to come, Mike says. "The most radical thing going was Crusade's aggressive, personal evangelism." Mike's mind began to be saturated with Scripture. He read through a Pauline epistle every morning, shaking guys out for Bible studies in the athletic building, seeing men's lives change from his teaching.

After graduation he entered staff training for Crusade and hoped to go full time in the Chicago area. He met Hal Lindsey, "felt so shallow," counseled with him, and decided to go to Seminary. He compared the graduates from several different seminaries and decided to go to Dallas Theological Seminary. There he found a "tool-centered rather than vocation-centered training." Mike notes this because he is proud of his Biblical skills which he acquired at Dallas, especially his ability to work with Greek and do New Testament exegesis.

He lived near a University campus in Texas and carried on a ministry there besides going to Dallas Seminary. "I was still ministry centered and not really into being in seminary." Even after he moved into the seminary, he continued to take men to campus on Mondays to witness, "Monday being the traditional day off for seminarians."

He met his wife while teaching a Crusade leadership class at the University. He needed a date for a Founders Day banquet, saw Faye's name on the Honor Roll, and said, "You would like to go to the Seminary banquet with me, wouldn't you?" She was a young freshman, "swept off her feet." Soon she went off to Wheaton College. They were married a few years later.

They came to California where Mike intended to work on the Crusade staff. He became disillusioned over the "palatial surroundings" and talked to Hal Lindsey once again, just before Lindsey and several staff members broke away from Crusade. He ended up spending two years as a youth worker in a Southern California church. "I outgrew that situation. Like Abraham I took out not knowing where I was going." Then he was six months at a Baptist church in a nearby city. There he found a "stench, rigor mortis." He discovered that a nearby seminary was the root of this spiritual deadness. For five months Mike went through different situations, interning, candidating ("looking each other over"), and even sold his home. "The Lord sustained us through surprise gifts, we were fed by the ravens, we wanted to take our time before jumping into something." Then Ray Stedman of Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto, California challenged them to pioneer in Idaho. They flew up there for six days and tested it out. They decided to stay and were there for two years at a Bible church. "I caught trout and men." He had been considering working at Peninsula Bible Church but was glad for the opportunity to strike out on his own in Idaho. The most important aspect of that time, he remembers, was long hours of study in the Biblical texts. "I averaged six hours a day in preparation for my Sunday morning message, especially on Romans and Ephesians. I saw some wonderful things happen even in a very static community. We received $325 a month and groceries. We learned to live frugally. The Lord's guerrilla training had started long before we came to Berkeley." He sees Idaho as a place where he "hit the people hard, through their

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youth, and then split, leaving walking time bombs in their houses."

After attending a Basic Youth Conflicts conference in Los Angeles, he and his wife stopped in Berkeley to see what CWLF was all about and to visit with Jack Sparks. "Gift-wise I'm a shepherd-teacher and would be wherever I would go.[15] I had been following the so-called Jesus Movement. I became aware of the time to move in behind the spearhead and do the cleaning up, discipling, conserve the real fruit that had come up."

He would come to Berkeley and trust the Lord "with regard to His retirement plan. I wanted to live existentially, on the growing edge. I wake up now every morning with new excitement for the potential packed in a day."

He arrived in Berkeley in October 1971 and experienced a tremendous culture shock. He moved too fast at first. "There was a daily dialectic between middle class culture and the counter culture. They were difficult times. Everything occurred at such a high rate." Mike had a nervous breakdown. Faye held things together. In a Christmas letter to friends (1972), Mike wrote: "October 71. I climbed into a time-machine with my little family—zaroom—Idaho Primitive country to the concrete jungles of Berkeley! January '72. The 'Future Shock' was great! The 'time-machine' turned into a hospital, but I learned wonderful things. In John's words in the Apocalypse . . . 'I fell at His feet as a dead man, and He laid His right hand upon me, saying, "Do not be afraid . . ."' Rev. 1.17."

Mike says he digs his work with CWLF most of all. "It's the most challenging." He considers CWLF's fellowship of creative, gifted believers who have conveniently joined together for a specific ministry in our time to speak into a changing culture and the twentieth century as a whole the orthodox faith once for all delivered."

He thinks CWLF's ministry is much wider and deeper than Crusade's in terms of its future implications. "I'm still grateful to Crusade for teaching me an aggressive evangelistic embrace of a person into the Body of Christ. This is the spiritual bear hug." In CWLF Jack Sparks has charismatic gifts of leadership, Mike recognizes. "He is the charismatic figurehead. Crusade centered around the gift of evangelism, CWLF more around body life. It's much more radical than Crusade, which was hooked into the norms of the middle class."

In that same Christmas letter, Mike wrote: "The Counter-culture is shifting. The shift has been from an 'Activism' on a Marxist base to an 'apathy' on an existential base to 'aspiration' on a spiritually pantheistic base. This 'charismatic' direction is the future of the counter-culture. This, of course, will mean greater deception and spirit activity in both its most gross and sophisticated forms. This will, also, mean greater opportunity for intelligent and Holy Spirit-directed penetration of the Good News both apologetically and in terms of direct evangelization through multiplication discipleship. Pray for continued reproduction of 'wheat' among tares in 1973 in the Counter-culture."

In his Bible studies Mike often gets around to sex. He frequently pictures his life as one of heavy struggles with lust, which he has now largely conquered, having turned it all over to the Lord. He talks about the beaches where he used to go to ogle the girls. He remembers working as a lifeguard—looking at the girls and being looked up to. Once he took his very best girl to a swanky nightclub. It came to him during the evening that they didn't belong there. He took the girl home early. He didn't date her any more. After he married Faye his struggles did not cease. Once they were shopping in San Francisco. He slipped into a bookstore and began paging through a sex book with pictures. When Faye came in he quickly put it aside. At lunch he wanted so much to be faithful to Faye, but the pictures from the book kept flashing through his mind. He felt dirty and helpless. Finally, with great relief, he turned everything over to the Lord and said the Lord would have to conquer temptation for Mike if it was going to get done. The Lord did it.

Comments

Mike's spiritual voyage has been within the church, moving from position to position. He seems largely other-directed, whether by God, his father, Hal Lindsey, or other evangelical leaders. It is difficult to avoid the impression of low self-esteem, defensiveness, needing to prove himself and gain approval, and an almost excessive piety which serves, more or less successfully, to keep the lid on personal problems.

He is often judgmental and his fervent Pauline theology is not always able to keep a more natural legalism under control. He is quite successful as a counselor with some who come into CWLF in complete personal disarray, little ego-strength, and whom his firmness and directness seem to help. His conversation, in a way somewhat different from most in CWLF, is filled with Biblical allusions and pious and devotional turns of phrase.

Beneath the surface may be an ego greatly damaged by a father Mike has hinted was domineering and violent and withholding of approval. There seems to be a necessity to prove his manhood, his status as a "shepherd-teacher," a role he continually reminds others and himself of, and his Dallas Seminary credentials. He is very concerned with sin and sex. Even his young son's conversion experience relates to becoming clean—from the sin (?) of bed-wetting.

At the same time Mike is a tremendously loving, caring person. He makes himself accessible to all, is eager to listen and help, and ready to counsel. He seems to be well liked by many people in the wider CWLF fellowship.

He can be authoritarian. Once when we met a Hari Krishna devotee on Telegraph Avenue, Mike went immediately up to him, commenting to me that it is very rare to catch them alone, and began a long "witness" to him—the goal of which seemed to be to conquer his falsehood with the truth. Mike feels a great need to put error to rest—whether it be reducing a Krishna devotee to absurdity, confronting the Graduate Theological Union as a "whited sepulcher," or winning out over the uncleanness of his own psyche. Things have to be put in their place, error has to be named, uncleanness has to be scrubbed away. David has to win over Goliath, God must defeat Satan. The antitheses must not be relaxed.

Erikson mentions that the need for devotion is one aspect of the identity crisis and the need for repudiating is the other. "Ideologies offer . . . overly simplified and yet determined answers to exactly those vague inner states and those urgent questions which arise in consequence of identity conflict. Ideologies serve to channel youth's forceful earnestness and sincere asceticism, as well as its search for excitement and its eager indignation, toward that social frontier where the struggle between conservatism and radicalism is most alive."[16]

One is perhaps most conscious of the war outside when one is most conscious of the war inside. This is certainly true of Luther and Paul. Erikson remarks that Luther lived with the devil "on terms of a mutual obstinacy, an inability to let go of each other, as tenacious as his old fixation on his father and his later fixation on the Pope."[17] He suggests that in the older Luther this absorbed great amounts of energy that could have been used elsewhere. It is difficult, of course, to say whether in Mike's case or in the case of fundamentalism generally, potential creativity is cut off because of other preoccupations. It does seem likely, especially in Mike's case, that we are looking, in Abraham Maslow's terms, more at a "D type" (defensive, regressive) than at a "B type" (being, self-actualizing, etc.). It may not be superfluous to mention the likelihood of reaction formation as well. The crusader often has as his real object the darker and doubting side of his own nature.

It has also been suggested, especially in connection with American revivalism, that one does battle with evil in order to taste it, that one luxuriates in the revivalists' fearful condemnations, that an easy catharsis can be achieved by aligning oneself with God in his battle against evil (isn't that why we love to watch the FBI on television?)—a catharsis in which one finds peace in the knowledge that the evil inside has been clobbered once again.

But not dealt with! In fundamentalist Protestantism one can see a Bible pushed against the proverbial can of worms with all one's might. Indeed, the zealous believer is sitting on top of the Bible, helping to hold it down. This is true especially of sex, where there is a monumental repression. A new and open conservative evangelicalism, especially when led by people whose lives are together and who feel good about themselves, has been able to face these problems, deal with them, work them out. Susan and Bryan are examples. I have seen Mike, on the other hand, become extremely upset at a questionnaire regarding sexual attitudes, singling out especially one question on homosexuality.

Above, Mike looked authoritarian. He is also very submissive. He is submissive to the straight church which helps to support him (a condition scarcely unique to Mike!), to the authority of the elders in CWLF (resenting at the same time that he is not one), and says that if the group's theology or ministries ever got too much for him, he would slip quietly away without causing any anarchy. We shall see him working out this statement in coming chapters.

One has the sense of deeply repressed rage, hostility, and the need to act out. That he will not allow himself. While he crusades vehemently against falsehood outside the fellowship, he is meek within it. Again, we shall see later that the farthest he allows himself to go, and that may be subconsciously, is an occasional prayer which is a thinly disguised talking out of hostility or jealousy toward someone or some ministry within CWLF. Mike is perhaps the "nicest" of the males in CWLF, always smiling, almost condescending.

He has had one nervous breakdown in Berkeley, which he attributes to culture shock. That may have been a vital release of pressure. It is likely he would leave rather than risk another one. Mike has come to Berkeley to find a place, a place for his talents in the Christian community, a place to be somebody. It is doubtful whether CWLF is meeting his needs, his own bursts of euphoria notwithstanding. There is no doubt that he is meeting the needs of many others—as a kind and firm counselor to some, as a remarkably persuasive and helpful teacher to many others. Especially has this been true in the Crucible, a forum for radical Christian studies, which we shall meet in Chapter V.

Arnie

Arnie also came to Berkeley to find a place. He was raised in a "traditional Jewish family." His father had been an orthodox rabbi but became an atheist. His parents had unusually great enmity against anything Christian, he says. His brother, thirteen years older, became a Christian first. "I was very close to my brother, not to my father.

My brother was always kind and generous. He became kind of a father to me. My parents were very vicious toward him; they overlooked all the things God was doing in him. He had been considering suicide before he became a Christian. One thing I knew, my brother had something good and my parents were vicious."

Friends played some role in Arnie's becoming a Christian, but he attributes it primarily to the reading of Scripture. He began reading the Old Testament prophets. After Jehovah's Witnesses gave him a copy of the New Testament, he immediately read it through. "I came to recognize that the Bible's description of men and the trend of human history was very accurate. And what it said about the nature and trend of Jewish people was very accurate. I could find nothing that didn't seem very true."

He went heavily into the study of prophecy. He talks about the quest for Jewish identity after World War II. The Bible gave him a solution. The "clincher" for coming to Christ came at a moment of crisis in his life. He had been very active playing chess and had won several junior championships. He finally tasted fame and prestige. "They never meant anything, all things stayed the same, it was just a paper bag. I thought I never would attain fulfillment in life. I wanted so much to find a goal. It was so severe at that time. I felt life was not worth living unless I could find purpose in life. I said, 'God, if you exist, I want to know you above all things.' From that time on—it wasn't a split second thing—a kind of ecstasy came into my life, I felt the presence of God in me and around me. I felt very closely related to

Jesus. I saw him in some Christians as an ever present reality. I didn't see God that way in the orthodox and conservative Jews I knew. I became immersed in this—talking to God all the time. My father took me to a Jewish lawyer who had memorized all the Bible and gave me hundreds of objections, but it didn't phase me. I knew it was true because I had experienced it. I was sixteen then."

This was a tumultuous period in his life—"like hell. In the first two years the whole wrath of the world came down on me. There was a great crisis in the family. My parents had only two sons and they both accepted the Gospel. It was so great a crisis that my father left mother and us and went to Israel. In a few months he came back. My mother was much more understanding but she couldn't accept it herself either."

Before his conversion Arnie had gone through a period of intense hatred of Christians. He trusted no one and considered everyone a possible Nazi type. He recounts his study of Jewish history. "It was a history of endless suffering, persecution, despair, alienation, isolation, and murder. In particular I became very hostile towards 'Christians' at whose hand most of the suffering was dealt." And now he somehow was a Christian and his own people disowned him.

In a "testimony" he writes of his relief in discovering who Jesus really was. "The Jesus Christ that I discovered in scripture was far from the Jesus Christ that I had been familiar with. Far from being a white, middle class, Gentile, Nordic war god, born in Kansas City—who defends the 'American way of life,' I found that He was a Jew, probably black by Western standards, poor, a conscientious objector, born in a ghetto in the Middle East, and a defender of truth and justice."

Arnie was raised in a New York largely Gentile neighborhood. His high school was only about 5 percent Jewish. At college he became president of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship chapter. His parents never knew this and only found out recently. Most members of Inter-Varsity were middle-class Gentiles and had never really had a conversion experience, Arnie thinks. There was a tradition of electing a Hebrew-Christian as president of the chapter for obvious reasons—the college was 80 percent Jewish. He was very evangelistic while there. The Jews could not fathom him. "They had never even seen such a creature as a Hebrew-Christian. Things were more difficult then. Now it's more often heard of. They were bewildered more than hostile. I was very naive, had bad fellowship, and on a legalistic-rationalistic trip. I didn't then argue Christianity on the basis of it having changed my life. I always pointed to prophecy proofs. The restoration of Israel was my clincher."

After graduation Arnie considered going on the staff ot Inter-Varsity, joining the staff of the American Board of Missions to the Jews, going to Moody or some other seminary, or going to California. He had been in frequent contact with Marty Rosen, a well-known figure in the Jews for Jesus movement. The Inter-Varsity door closed because of his lack of experience in interpersonal relations, especially with females. The American Board didn't accept him because Rosen himself was getting out. "Also I didn't believe in the eternal suffering of the lost, and they did." He didn't have good enough grades for the seminary and it was too intellectually oriented for him anyway. Rosen convinced him to come to California. He ended up in a Christian commune in Marin County, north of San Francisco, in July 1970.

He later began to live in a CWLF House because his former House had moved north and he wanted an urban ministry. At a CWLF retreat in December 1972 he met a Christian woman whom he married the following July. "I saw myself as a Jews for Jesus arm of CWLF. Kind of a representative of Marty Rosen. There were other Jewish Christians, but they had no great desire to express their Jewishness."

Comments

Arnie is a rather intense person but with frequent flashes of shy humor and the appearance of being easygoing. He undoubtedly releases a great deal of his energy in the street theater, a ministry we shall meet in Chapter V. He marvels at how much in love he and his wife are and they are very demonstrative about this. His influence and concerns are felt in CWLF, but he has no official position or ministry. He wants and needs a deep emotional life and a community he can relate to. He is one of the instigators of a new "church" group in CWLF, which we shall meet in Chapters V and VI. His inquiring mind gets him into such things as being a lonely apologist for "catastrophism" as an explanation for the origin of the universe. He is respected, but possibly not always listened to.

Arnie came to Berkeley to find a place to be in a community and to exercise his gifts and his commitments. He has found brothers and sisters. He has found a wife. He has found street theater. He is working to create the kind of community that will meet his needs.

In Christianity he has found a meaning for his life and a great joy. The door is closed on Arnie's family. He can't go back. The door to his own psyche is probably open. He thinks and prays a great deal about who he is and what he wants to be and do with his life. He has probably not yet found himself to his satisfaction. Certainly his wife—a gift from God through CWLF—is the answer to his real loneliness and need for family. She is a sturdy, loving person. She is completing her RN training, plans to work a year, and then get pregnant. Arnie keeps a lot of himself hidden. He may have few really close friends and confidantes—except his wife.

In many ways a Hebrew-Christian is a fish out of water, especially one so committed to his Jewishness. Arnie elaborately works out the contribution and style of Hebrew-Christianity and hopes it will be an important balance and complement to Anglo-Christianity. Being a Jew is probably harder for Arnie than for other Jews in CWLF. He cannot and will not forget or renounce his Jewishness. He must almost invent or create an identity for himself. There is no direction home to his past. His rebirth cannot include the beginning of a reconciliation with the circumstances of his first birth, as it has for Susan or Bryan. The non-Jewish Christian community cannot present him with a readymade identity, for to accept it would be to renounce his heritage. To some extent, Arnie must pull an identity out of the hat of the future. Where else? He dreams of the coming in of the Jews which the Apostle Paul writes about in Romans. He says over and over that he is a present and future person rather than a past person. That is easy to understand.

He finds special meaning each Passover celebrating a Jewish-Christian Seder meal, and his new brothers and sisters are very appreciative. He dreams of a community where everyone will help each other, look for jobs for each other, take care of each other, see that no one is isolated, no one is going hungry, a community which will make the world jealous and interested to find out what the people have going among them.

The Hebrew-Christian's identity problems may have similarities to the problems of newly aware black Christians. There is blackness, there is Christian history, and there is one's own Christianity. But it is not easy to fit the three together. For the Hebrew-Christian even the New Testament, or the way it is used, may seem unfriendly. What kind of ambivalences must develop? What doubts? Will the Hebrew-Christian feel free to speak his mind and his needs? How much do the brothers and sisters understand what ails this adopted one? How much more does the Hebrew-Christian want to say to them—perhaps out of a romanticized future, but certainly out of a Pauline past, "No, you are the adopted ones." There is a brooding for his people as well. A brooding the Apostle Paul knew well. And today's Jews—when they are not angry or paranoid—brood for those like Arnie, too.

Joyce

Joyce is efficient, always smiling, determinedly ebullient and almost aggressive, in her late twenties, works in the business office, and lives at Dwight House. She grew up in Ohio and became a Christian in a summer camp when she was twelve. "I was an anxious kid and I saw something different in people who knew the Lord. I was afraid of fire . . . and of hell." It was July 4th when she came to Christ. She had done a lot of thinking about it and now made a public confession of her faith.

Her mother was a Christian then, but not her father. Her brothers and sister are still not Christians, but her father now is. She became active in an Evangelical United Brethren Church and eventually Youth for Christ. "But I really didn't understand what it was to make Jesus Lord of my life." She went to the extremely fundamentalist Bob Jones University, "because it was cheap and because friends went there." She eventually transferred to Kent State and graduated from there. She had become unhappy at Bob Jones during her third year, though she had liked it at first. Kent was closer to home. Her mother was sickly and her father traveled. "The anonymity at Kent was refreshing after one's whole life was constantly exposed at Bob Jones." During the summers she went with a group called "Friends of Mexico" to do child evangelism in Mexico.

After graduation she taught school for two years and then went to the Philippines as a missionary for two years. She was with the Far Eastern Gospel Crusade and taught English in a mission school they operated. She had thought about being a missionary while at Bob Jones and her pastor had been to the Philippines and encouraged her. When she returned, she served as director of a resources center for two years.

At Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowships's "Urbana 70" she was very impressed with the multimedia presentation and wrote that she'd like to be part of it. She came out to California to look things over. "I had a lot of problems at the time. I realized how pharisaical my outlook had been. I just let the Lord speak to me. I really wanted to stay in California, it was so great." But she was enrolled at the Wheaton graduate school and felt she should go back. She had come out with some friends, however, in a driveaway car. When the only driveaway car available to go back was a two-seater, Joyce stayed and her friends left.

She ended up living in CWLF's Dwight House for six weeks, not doing anything. Then the office needed a typist and Joyce came to work. "After being so headstrong I now had a very teachable attitude. I had the opportunity to really grow. My life wasn't set when I was nineteen! Especially my relationships with other people began to change. Every previous situation had been marred by bad relations with other people. I learned the Christian walk was not necessarily a lonely one. You are a body. I knew God wanted me to be here. I had so many friends. The problem before was that as Christians we don't really live with each other. For the first time I thought I'd really like to be married someday. Not just for the satisfaction and gratification but to help and to spend a whole life sharing and growing together."

Joyce dreams of traveling "in depth," of getting back into more creative things, especially cinematography or newspaper work. She had been involved in the school newspaper in high school and was the advisor for the school paper in the Philippines. She would like to write for a Women's Movement paper. She likes the atmosphere of Berkeley and of CWLF. She mentioned when I interviewed her, "volley ball tonight, Swan Lake with Rudolph Nuryev last week, the symphony this Saturday. I'm in touch with people who have a great deal of reality in their lives."

Her job in the office is "sort of a rest" and she's relatively happy there. "When I leave I can put it out of my mind. With the tax structure what it is, I take home about as much money as if I were teaching. [This statement would definitely not apply to California public school teachers' salaries.] I now have time to do creative things I never had interest or opportunity for before. I guess I should marry an eccentric millionaire. It's very gratifying to know there's an eternity. Not that you owe me that Lord, but . . ."

She would enjoy teaching in a free school and sees a teacher's rôle as that of "tourist guide." She formerly would "throw out the book, stay up half the night mimeographing special materials for the kids" and loves a rip-roaring discussion. She finds a "free humanism" very prominent in the structure of CWLF. She wishes the Lord would give her the urge to read again. She used to read a book a day as a librarian. She participates in Crucible classes and has attended meetings of Berkeley women's groups.

Joyce sums of the meaning of Christianity for her: "God relieves me of guilt and satisfies me both in this life and the next." When asked for one word to describe what Christ is for her, she said, "Satisfaction," and then added, "Purpose and fulfillment."

Comments

Joyce came to California to give herself up to something exciting and meaningful. She had served three two-year stints in relatively straight Christian employment. Possibly she wanted to break out and do something almost glamorous or countercultural. The Inter-Varsity multimedia presentation was impressive, especially to one from a quiet, conservative background—and perhaps a straitlaced character to match. She had served the church efficiently and well, but not with great satisfaction. And it would seem the church had not served Joyce well. First in CWLF did she discover that God could make her a new and a whole person, could help her relate to Christians as real brothers and sisters ("Christians are people you live with"), could give her new and full reality, could satisfy her.

Joyce is now "coming out." She knew she could be a tireless worker for the Lord. She is discovering it can be satisfying as well. She knew timidly the world was out there. She is discovering it as God's and therefore hers. She knew people did exciting and real things. She is doing some herself. She knew God had a family. She is learning to live in it with real brothers and sisters and to relate to them in ways deeper than her too-well-learned pious veneer ever allowed her before. Joyce is not ready to storm the world and she may yet discover some anger inside after years of repression. But she is getting satisfied. As she begins to confront all the reality about herself and her past, she will be able to do it while liking herself.

Joyce has found a place. She may call that place the new satisfaction God has given her as a Christian woman. That place may be the excitement and wonder of Berkeley and the counterculture as well, the easy freedom and unlegalistic life-style of CWLF, the healthy demands of Christian communal living, the time to relax as a Christian and not be the school marm in charge. For the first time Joyce thinks that kind of life would be worth sharing with someone else who also had it.

Barry

At age forty-four Barry may be the oldest person regularly participating in CWLF. He is also one of the minority whose wife is "not with him." He describes his family as "not at all active," and then, typically, immediately calls his ten-year-old son "blessed and chosen before he was born. I know it. But I wouldn't want my son to go through the shit I did to get me prepared for my ministry." His wife is an ex-Catholic; she does believe in God and prays, and she likes all the people she's met from CWLF. "But she still has secular concerns."

Barry readily talks about himself and easily shares the fruits of long years of introspection. He generally appears serious and weighed down with the world's and his own problems. Occasionally, a radiant smile flashes over his face. He seems to run on raw energy and passion and admits that he has great trouble getting things together. He calls himself a complete individualist, but says he is "for the whole body." He feels he is closer to feeling than rationality, "but I'm moving toward adult—not rational—behavior. My intuitions seem to be spiritually valid. What is said is said emotionally, but it is said in the Spirit. I'm becoming more responsible. I'm gaining more perseverance." On a one-to-ten continuum between historical and eschatological consciousness he said: "I'm a tenner. My gifts are evangelical. Shit, I don't just long for heaven all the time. I like here and now very much. Within the church I guess I'm closer to the historical end. But I know I'm going to be part of the rapture during the heavy trial times." Barry has a bumper sticker on his filing cabinet: "He Ain't Comin' Back as a Carpenter." Barry is undoubtedly, at least in his speech, the most earthy person in the fellowship.

Barry says he has had a "twenty-year character disorder and been in and out of five nuthouses." Four years ago he left a locked ward to enter Synanon for six months. There was no more dope and drinking, but he feels he was pretty much the same person. Three years ago he began attending an evangelical Quaker Church. He had gone to a fashionable Sunday School as a kid, had been Episcopalian, Christian Scientist—"all very insipid." During his teens he went to one of the Protestant churches—"very dull."

He worked off and on, was on skid row once, joined AA and stayed dry for two and a half years. "When you pick up again, it's as if you've been drinking all along, you're further down the path." He was a "head-hunter for a corporation, wining and dining men from other companies," and was in business counseling. Now he draws up designs for ideas, he says. He still drives a Mercedes convertible, and explained once that it was the one luxury he allowed himself. He was very pleased when I commented on its good looks, leather upholstery, etc. On another occasion he said he would probably drive his Mercedes to the poorhouse. His bearing is one of class, although tired and somewhat burned out.

The pastor of his church had invited Ted Wise, one of the pioneering Jesus People in the Bay Area of California to work with drug addicts, to spend three Sundays in Adult Bible Raps. "As soon as I listened to him I said, 'This is my teacher.' I wasn't a Christian yet. I arranged to have him come back, found space, provided his income personally. This was three heart attacks after Synanon." This is the typical Barry speaking. Taking charge, arranging things, doing something important. Long-haul tasks are more difficult for him.

One time in these classes Barry had been describing his "screwed up family life," his serious heart problem, and Ted had said, "Are you a Christian?" "I believe in Christ," Barry answered. "Have you ever invited Christ into your life?" Ted pressed. Barry became extremely angry and began crying. Ted said, "Let's pray." Barry says that when he (Barry) prayed he always said "us" but never "me." There was nothing personal about his prayers. Ted kept pressing him to ask Christ into his life. "It's marvelous to come to the Lord in a group setting. When the time comes, the time comes. Finally I said, Christ is my Savior. They're the hardest words I ever said. Immediately a great burden was lifted. I lifted up my head and laughed and cried." A great period of ecstasy followed Barry's conversion. "It was a good two or three month honeymoon." That was the fall of 1969.

Shortly after that Ted Wise went to a Center for drug counseling. Barry dropped down one day to congratulate him on his new position. While he was there someone called in—too many pills. "The next thing I'm making a house call. That was my problem. Then I'm involved doing group therapy for a year. The Lord just kept breaking me while I was doing a Synanon thing. I kept facing abject defeat as long as I was doing my own thing. I had been dumping on this fourteen-year-old-kid. I didn't know how old he was. It was really heavy. Suddenly I realized what I was doing. I cried, the kid cried, he was only fourteen he said. When I entered a personal relationship with people in the Lord, everything happened. More people came to the Lord. Others on the staff, supposed to be Christian, criticized my approach. Eventually I was fired."

Barry met some of the staff members from CWLF when they filled in at his church, and Ted Wise had been on the board of directors of CWLF. Gradually Barry got a drug counseling ministry going with one of the CWLF staff members. "I'm not really on CWLF staff—I am and am not. It's large enough that there's a bureaucracy. I step on toes now and then. My work here started out to be a dope ministry. Now it's a Hot Line."

Barry once summed up his life after conversion: "My life has turned around 180°. I'm consecrated to the Lord. I've never been so joyful or so excruciatingly out in the desert." He cannot imagine what he might be doing five years from now. "I promise you he'll take me wherever he wants me. It would be pure speculation. I might have good secular sense. But every time I make a prediction, he contradicts me."

Barry supports himself through a partnership in an apartment house. He is also holding a couple of second mortgages. "It's deficit living. Getting close to the bone. The Lord's going to deliver me soon. . . . Maybe not soon enough for me."

He often says, "The Lord does everything. I can't do anything, not a thing. The Lord has to keep picking up after us. When we try to do something on our own, we blow it." Sometimes this approaches self-flagellation. "The Lord has to keep cleaning up after me. All I do is fuck up." His manner is intimate, confessional, encounterish, with anyone willing to get close enough. Not many do.

He has been trying to get a complete Hot Line operation going for months. He now mans it on his own. He considers this a very important ministry and becomes almost officious and self-important when a call comes in. But so far the Hot Line ministry is not really off the ground, and Barry is not on the CWLF staff.

Comments

Barry talks much, agonizes more, and produces little. He is a body of guilt, inadequacy, need to be loved and especially respected.

His feelings are hurt easily. He is proud of his counseling skills. He lacks the discipline to study, read, write, he says. He probably allows a religious masochism (Lord is everything, I am nothing) to run interference for his clear inability to get anything together. Yet he is tremendously sensitive, warm-hearted, gracious, the man who will give you the shirt off his back. He can be grandiose, self-depreciating, magnanimous, self-important, ego-tripping, ego-deflating. His character and style are not unlike those of a manic-depressive.

Barry came to belong, to be somebody, to find a place where he could do the things he knew God wanted him to do. He has "lived" a great deal more than many of the "kids" in CWLF and he finds them rather provincial on occasion. His primary source of community may be his church rather than CWLF, or he may have none. He does not participate in any of the opportunities for worship, study, or fellowship available in CWLF, but he attends all staff meetings. Whether his relationship to CWLF has remained tenuous because he wants to retain maximum autonomy and fears obligations or because he can't get things together enough for CWLF to ask him onto the staff is difficult to tell.

Barry's conversion experience, late in life, puts him more in company with those we have placed in group one—"Coming Home." He expressed a great resistance to letting go. One can imagine the upper middle-class, self-important and well-lived liberal playing his life for the whole Bible class, with its introspections and torrents and troubles, and Ted Wise interrupting him to ask whether he has asked Christ to take over his life. Barry refused to stop hanging on. To what? His past life perhaps, his pride probably. Ted kept pressing him to say the words, to take the final step. When Barry finally did it, he was washed in joy and tears and love and attention. It is characteristic of Barry to say: "It's marvelous to come to the Lord in a group setting." That was not Susan's or Bryan's or Des's way, but it was Barry's. Barry has God's approval. He desperately needs the approval and respect of the brothers and sisters. Perhaps even their admiration. That may be why he gravitated to CWLF. He also seems to need to accept himself and like himself. Struck with introspective admiration for the intensity of his struggles and the romantic storms God causes to blow across his life, he is probably his own worst friend.

Coming To Be Authentic

David

David may be the only person excommunicated into CWLF. He had a conversion experience when he was six. He had heard a sermon on hellfire, damnation, and eternity ("the standard are-you-saved kind") and thought he was lost. He went to bed that Sunday evening, then came back downstairs, said he didn't know Jesus and wanted to, cried, knelt down, and prayed. "I've hardly had any doubts since. I gave a strong Christian witness against evolution when I was in the fourth grade. It was all very foolish, but very much a part of me. I was always getting bad citizenship marks for talking too much."

His parents are Christians and have been since they were children. They had regular evening devotions in his home. His father, a corporation executive, has been very influential in his life. He often refers to things he learned "on my daddy's knee." He does not consider his family wealthy. "I never had a whole lot of money. I worked in gas stations to buy a car." His parents opposed smoking, drinking, cards, and movies, "though today they have a little wine with dinner periodically." They went to church twice on Sunday and every Wednesday and were strongly conscious of being separate from the world, in the Brethren tradition.

David's father was intelligent and more moderate than most others in the Brethren fellowship. He had no bad feelings about reading things outside of the Brethren traditions. He had read most of conservative Calvinist Francis Schaeffer, "though never anybody like Barth." He is a senior analyst, but an echelon lower than vice-president rank. He avoids office parties and the like and does not take on himself the leadership role. When there are difficulties in church he is probably "not the right kind of personality to want to cope with them." He is contemplative. His mother is "aggressive, outspoken, and somewhat irrational."

David knew "hardly any Christian kids" when he was in high school. He realized later there probably were many to know. His father was unusual in encouraging him to participate in sports, normally considered a worldly pleasure. In Family Meetings and Christian discussion groups in CWLF, David likes to point out the athletic metaphors in the New Testament and humorously suggests this is Biblical sanction. David accumulated a whole scrapbook of his sports activities. He also was vice-president of the student body in his high school. He always avoided and turned down invitations to parties, but made up for them by organizing all kinds of activities for young people in his church.

He entered the University of California at Berkeley in the fall of 1964. He remembers being more or less opposed to the Free Speech Movement and more or less in favor of Goldwater. "I was really not too much involved." He started out in engineering, then switched to math, then to history. He became concerned about his lack of involvement in Christian living. He visited Campus Crusade twice and was turned off. He was looking for some outlet and with a friend began offering weekly services at Alameda County Juvenile Hall, continuing this for five years. Every weekend they went there, talked, witnessed, and had services. His close contact with blacks was a revelation for him. "It changed my whole orientation and stripped away any fundamentalist accretions." He read all the books on black history he could find in a year. He became involved in writing a paper every week at Juvenile Hall, "Straight to You." It stressed a Christian message and culture and gave him the idea of writing from a Christian perspective. In history classes at the University he began to choose papers that could be written from a Christian perspective. "I was always thinking up new projects for myself. I decided I wanted to start a magazine, a youth quarterly, to awaken young people in Brethren churches throughout the country. I knew personally there was a lot of dope coming in, a dualism taught by example, and a faithfulness that was just an empty piety. I wanted to raise the spiritual-intellectual consciousness of young people across the country.

I made the mistake of checking with a lot of people in the church. They were conservative, began to oppose it, and eventually destroyed the project before I could get it off the ground, using some slander to do the job. After that I was very turned off by my church. I began to explore principles, not just practice, and became more critical. I stopped participating in a lot of things. The youth groups themselves began to decline. Guitars were criticized. Then I saw a poster that Oz Guinness from the evangelical fellowship of L'Abri in Switzerland[18] would be speaking at a CWLF meeting. Previously I had had bad experiences with the Jesus Movement. It was harebrained eschatology. I had visited Linda Meissner's place in Seattle. There were horrible singing groups and a harangue on the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I was really amazed when I got to the CWLF Monday night meeting. So much life, so much love, the whole atmosphere. The singing was great. I was used to funeral dirges in my church. The following Friday I went to a Seder Supper conducted by one of the Hebrew-Christians in CWLF, that was really great, too. The next time I met Jack Sparks, I told him of articles I had written for my Juvenile Hall paper, and gave him three to look at. The next issue of Right On contained all three, without any editing whatsoever. Then I began passing out Right On at Juvenile Hall. One copy of the paper got into the hands of one of the most uptight elders at our church. Meetings were held before I knew anything about it. I pointed out I was not fellowshipping with CWLF, and that the elders ought to be following the guidelines for admonition laid down in Matthew 18. They didn't even listen to me. A week later four elders visited me and offered the alternative of ceasing all connections with Right On and CWLF or be excommunicated. I kept opening the Bible to various sections, but they wouldn't listen. The charge against me was that I was not separate enough."

David and his wife were concerned, especially because of David's father. His parents were crushed when he told them he was not going back to the church. He had been preaching about once every two months and had been involved in most of their creative youth ministries. "They believe they're the only ones to have an authentic Lord's Table. My father doesn't necessarily believe that but thinks it is the only place for himself and for his son."

David wrote letters to "the responsible brethren" and to the whole meeting, arguing that he would have to be convinced by the clear Word of Scripture. Rejecting merely the authority of the assembly he placed himself with Luther at Worms. He argued that a church was of the Lord when it was under Scripture and the mere fact of being in the Brethren tradition was no guarantee. Regretfully he and his wife left the assembly, rather than recant. They had gone over to the "camp." He was officially excommunicated and all Brethren fellowships were so informed.

By this time he had become involved with CWLF and was working on and off in various capacities. Eventually David was asked to edit Right On, which he did on the condition of inviting a woman as co-editor. A year later David left his job as a high school teacher to work full time with CWLF and Right On. He also was appointed elder in the group.

Comments

David is an aggressive elder in CWLF, a hard-working editor, self-educated in theology and social ethics, very sure of himself, an individualist, a rationalist. He often seems proud, occasionally defensive. When a "friendly Christian" decided to avail himself of his Christian freedom by inviting himself to sit in on a Crucible staff meeting, it was David who coolly and pointedly asked him to leave. David allows himself more introspection than he lets on and only now and then lets others see what things are going on inside of him. Probably few of the brothers and sisters know him well.

He may be one of the three most influential people in CWLF. As a driving force for change, he may be the most influential. He is committed to a life of total witness and the development of a uniquely Christian life-style. That commitment does not always reflect itself with relations to the brothers and sisters in CWLF. He can be cold, abrupt, indifferent, and unsympathetic. He is also warm, loves music, and very often plays his guitar for the singing at the Saturday night family meetings. He has a strong sense of humor and occasionally laughs at himself as well.

David would probably have a problem existing in a "total" community like the Bruderhof.[19] They would probably sentence him to cutting wood or (in CWLF terms) stapling up posters for six months as an exercise in humility and as a warning against working too hard on your own things.

He has a somewhat uncharacteristic self-assurance and knows what he wants to do and where he is going. We shall see more than one reason why this is uncommon among the brothers and sisters in CWLF. Certainly his behavior and attitude are in marked contrast to those who talk endlessly of leaving things up to the Lord. Yet David is a man of prayer, and certainly prays no less than anyone else in family meetings, staff meetings, and privately. He is one of the most gifted and best educated men in CWLF and tends to think there are many exciting projects and ministries ahead of him in the future. He has a tremendous drive to get things done. It would not be a surprise if he left the CWLF fellowship eventually for a ministry elsewhere.

Important for David and others in this "Coming To Be Authentic" group is "stripping away fundamentalist and middle-class accretions" to their faith. Both the Berkeley scene and the integrity they see in CWLF offer an opportunity to live authentically. They feel more sure that their Christianity is a real following of Christ rather than an acting out of middle-class or churchly traditions. They wanted a new life-style. Living in the Berkeley counterculture and creatively and intelligently witnessing to and in it seemed to provide this chance.

The free-style of CWLF is no problem for David, since he does not consider the group in any sense a church and finds his and his family's needs for community met in a local Bible church. He does have rather definite notions about what a church should be like and does not believe the New Testament model should be "paraphrased."

Certainly CWLF meets needs for David and those like him. It has spawned creative ministries which people like David find fulfilling. It is a base of operations from which to launch an authentic Christian life-style. It is a place to get started on a new kind of radical Christian living. But for David especially, "deficiency needs" seem much less important than "growth motivation" and "self-actualization." David gives more than he takes. He has enormous energy, a driving ego, and pours himself with enthusiasm into whatever he is doing.

The dynamic factor in such a role, however, is that once a person has been provided or worked out for himself a solid and substantial vision of what a radical and authentic Christian mission and life-style is, he may see CWLF as no longer necessary. Indeed, he may see it hindering him. Typically, such individuals do not have the same kind of devotion to the group as those who "came home" here or especially as those who came to find a place to be somebody here. One can occasionally hear prayers from people in these first two groups which are thinly disguised petitions that God move people like David to love the community more and their own thing less. In a word, David is insufficiently socialized into the CWLF community. Certainly no primary socialization has occurred as it has for those who are born again and find a new family in CWLF. And since his worshipping and feeding community is elsewhere, less secondary socialization may happen as well.

Even more significant and potentially disruptive or explosive is the likelihood that it will occur to such an individual to take his ministry with him. This, of course, is nothing new. Mother churches give birth to daughter churches. The Berkeley Free Church of the middle 1960s, for example, spawned what are now the Free Clinic, the Food Conspiracy, Berkeley Switchboard, etc. And the Free Church is no more. CWLF itself may find it quite possible to do this and praise the Lord for it. As we shall see later, this may already be happening with Crucible, the Forum for Radical Christian Studies. To let Right On go, however, which is the flagship of the CWLF ministries, might be more traumatic. How CWLF decides who and what it is and what ministries, if any, are basic to its identity and how individuals in CWLF decide who they are and what their relation to CWLF is, is *the* exciting story at this point in the life history of the movement. We shall see this again and again in all the succeeding chapters. The fact that such dynamics do not keep CWLF in constant turmoil may witness to the fact that "being" or "life" goals are far more important to it than "institutional" or "survival" goals. It is a style the straight churches are continually told by church planning experts to emulate.

Another curious aspect of David's role in CWLF is that he has moved from part-time amateur to full-time professional, or, in terms he would strongly reject, from active layman to clergyman. Almost throughout the group, with one conspicuous exception whom we shall meet shortly, there is a strong rejection of clericalism or of anything that smacks of a "clergy" role or office. Yet if one drops the names and talks only the language of function, the hierarchy all comes back again. Mike calls himself one of two shepherd-teachers. The Lord gives many gifts (not "offices"!) to his people, and this is one of them. And Mike has it. It is characteristic of Jack Sparks' free (paraphrasing) piety that he assumes a multiplicity of ever-changing gifts and will not be bound nor bind CWLF to any New Testament "lists" of gifts.

It is possible to assume a latent status need that CWLF fulfills very well (even) for those who came here to be authentic. Certainly CWLF fulfills a personal need by providing a base and a coalition (people in group three talk much more about a coalition than a community) of like-minded people and ministries. But there is a more significant status that it provides, and that in two directions. First, CWLF has no little stature in the Jesus movement and among evangelicals. Second, CWLF can provide an "official" means for full-time Christian work for one who has enough of the counterculture or enough of his own free church tradition in him to refuse to allow himself ever to be called a clergyman. Not a few Protestant ministers function with no more hierarchical position (or theology) than that!

Elizabeth

Elizabeth seems to be one of the most radiant women in CWLF, full of joy and laughter. She is a college graduate, comes out of an upper middle-class home in the Northwest, works part-time in the CWLF business office, and is not very often seen at CWLF activities.

Her parents are Christians and she grew up an evangelical Presbyterian. Her church broke away from the United Presbyterian Church. She went to church all her life. While at a Quaker college in Oregon she realized she had "never personalized" her Christianity. She believed it but it was not a living experience. While there she became engaged to a man of Unitarian and Buddhist background. "We were very much in love." Because he was unable to share in the Christian faith she had come to have, she felt she could not marry him. At the time she thought it meant that she would never get married. Wanting to know God more and more in a personal way and wanting to be away from love, she transferred, with just four quarters remaining, to a conservative-evangelical college in California, Westmont.

At the end of her junior year there she went to the evangelical fellowship at L'Abri while traveling in Europe. She met Oz Guinness, who invited her to stay for two weeks. This was totally new to her and she was very excited. Her own church had expected her to "leave her head at the door" and never question Christianity. "This was a whole new beginning for me. I went back to Westmont and committed myself to Christ through reading the Bible and fellowship. I don't know whether I was really a Christian all the time before then or just since then," After she graduated from Westmont she went back to L'Abri, studying and then working as a helper for two years at the L'Abri House in England. "I really learned about a Christian life style."

She had met Jack Sparks and his wife when she had come up to Berkeley during her senior year at Westmont. "CWLF was more Jesus Freaky in those days, everybody living together off welfare, all heavy street people, no responsibility. It just carried over into their Christianity. Really put me off. But I got to know the people on several different occasions. I saw a whole new way of living out Christianity. Berkeley really freaked me out after the social games of Westmont. I did see that these people were really serious. Jack wanted me to come up after I graduated."

Sparks and his wife visited her when they stopped at L'Abri in England. They talked long and seriously. "I guess I always thought I'd come here eventually. I really prayed about it a lot, though there were no strange messages tied to bricks."

She came and moved into Dwight House and lived there for five months. "Jack had tried to get me to 'raise support,' but I couldn't feel right about that. I said I would get a part-time job. I wanted to be an example or show in a concrete way my feelings about this. I didn't want to live off other people. An opening in the business office came about and I began working twenty hours a week."

Elizabeth says the way of life in Berkeley pulled her here. She and another woman also in CWLF were "rebels" at Westmont. "The whole social set-up sickened me. I haven't seen the freedom of life style in other Christian groups that I have found in CWLF. Some friends of ours came to visit and said they wouldn't be caught dead living like this. It's living on little, with no pressures about clothes and dating. We've visited other places, like J. C. Light and Power in Los Angeles and came away so glad we lived in Berkeley. We noticed Christian women being defensive about clothes, men, etc. I don't see that here at all. There's no competition or jealousy. Some people in the established churches around here don't understand why our people don't feel comfortable in their churches. Some are big supporters, but we have a real problem going into upper middle class homes to be served coffee and cookies. On the other hand, we have come to see some really beautiful Christianity in some of those people."

Elizabeth's father, a civil engineer, was able to retire at age forty-five, travel, read, do things he liked, do things with the family. They had come into an inheritance. Her parents have never pressured her about anything since she's been out of high school. They have been supportive or at least understanding about her present life-style. Elizabeth lives with a CWLF "sister" in a funky apartment in a run-down apartment building. They have little furniture and lots of atmosphere. A mattress is their couch. They are countercultural—sort of.

Elizabeth met her former fiance on a recent trip back home. The meeting was strained, but she was thankful she had not married him. She would like to get married someday very much. "Whether I will? I really get lonely sometimes. Perhaps because I have no deep roots here. It must be unnatural to be constantly wrenched from one group to another."

Elizabeth says she runs her life a little closer to reason than emotion. She also, however, sees herself more spiritual than earthy. "I always seem very aware of the supernatural. I find myself talking to God just like a regular conversation. Does that sound phony? I certainly don't feel like I live with a sense of an imminent return of Christ. Books and movies are my main pastime. I also like crafts. I don't know. Is there too much separation of body and spirit?" She "really adores Tolkien" and was excited when she met someone who was just about to begin reading him. She wishes she could begin all over again. "Sometimes I really get dark feelings from his books." She does not consider herself very knowledgeable in theology. She would not recommend Hal Lindsey to anyone. "He really put me off, calling John F. Kennedy the Anti-Christ. Then he had all these proofs of Kennedy being alive on an ocean liner in the Greek Sea." C. S. Lewis and the evangelical guru Francis Schaeffer are two of her favorite authors. "But I hope I don't idolize Schaeffer the way some do."

Comments

Elizabeth is a free spirit who with little ostentation wants to be a free Christian. She has moved beyond her middle-class upbringing, though not its manners and values. She is not a joiner, does not like living in a Christian House—at least in Berkeley—and would probably prefer to live quietly on her own, doing the things she likes to do in her own circle of friends, simply being a Christian in Berkeley, rather than being a CWLF staff member. Indeed, Elizabeth's one connection with CWLF is her part-time work in the business office. Of course, she also has some friends in CWLF.

Elizabeth, more than many others, may have come to Berkeley rather than to CWLF. Yet in CWLF she saw a Christian community that seemed alive, free, and authentic. It was not the close, almost total, community she had loved and found so supportive at L'Abri. Nevertheless, she left L'Abri. To be on her own? Elizabeth talks about feeling very lonely sometimes and thinks it unnatural that she should move from place to place without roots. Why does she? Elizabeth is on no crusade. She does not have the vision of a ministry she must perform, as does David. She may be ready to settle down more now. She may wish to put down roots now that she has grown into the kind of person she more or less wanted to be. She feels good about herself and the kind of life-style she is living. But she is not likely to remain happy as a secretary in the business office.

When Elizabeth first came to CWLF she found it difficult to relate to the life-style. It seemed more like sloppiness or irresponsibility than freedom. She has a carefully cultivated inner life and a strong sense of individuality—both of which she found difficult to tend in a Christian House. It is difficult to say what CWLF and Elizabeth do for each other. Perhaps CWLF made it easier to come to Berkeley and blossom as a free Christian. And Elizabeth's quiet example suggests the fusion of some important middle-class values, such as personal responsibility and independence, with countercultural dress and style.

Frank

Frank dropped out of a seminary to drop into CWLF. He grew up in a military family "very neutral about Christianity." His parents had asked Christ into their lives as teenagers but had grown cold. When he reached high school he had very little religious background. He had a consciousness of God, but did not know Jesus Christ was related to God or that he was a Christian figure. He had gone to church six or seven times. While in high school in Germany, where his father was stationed, he went to Young Life meetings and went on a trip to Berlin with them. He was impressed with their personalities and the fact that they were not tied to exterior things.

His father had always been in athletics, and Frank's own life revolved around sports, especially track. He had made the all-European cross-country team. At that time he began to think about God. Planning to be the best had always kept him happy. "Then when I made it big in my sophomore year, it was no big thing. That shocked me. I made the team a couple of days before Kennedy's death." He went to another Young Life conference where they talked about Christ living in a person's life. The thought seemed absurd to him. "I thought about it hard, just about every day. For six months, while working out, before going to sleep." Then he went on another retreat, to a ski-camp in Switzerland. He felt the need to make a decision as the meaning of Christ coming into a life was explained. "Every night for seven days I invited Christ. At the end of the week, I stood up and told all my non-Christian friends at the retreat that I had done it. I started seeing results immediately. Next week my quarter-mile time came down six seconds. I read the New Testament through three times in the next two years." The captain of the cross-country team had invited Frank to go on that retreat.

Frank had had no bad experiences with Christianity before. His parents were never negative and always understanding of him. "They only wanted what was best for me." He considers his parents Christians now, "though they maybe haven't led the best Christian lives. My parents certainly saw what has happened in my life."

He went to a Florida university and majored in drama. While there he was involved with Campus Crusade, for two years as a student mobilization leader. His pastor called him and, told him he thought God wanted him to go to Dallas Seminary. He prayed about it and three weeks later he was accepted. "I felt sure I should be there—it was a very clear thing to me. I had quite a few questions and my friends on the Crusade staff certainly couldn't answer them. Christianity seemed to have few answers. I picked a seminary with the highest academic standards. Dallas had a core Biblical curriculum and apologetics. I finished two years there."

In his second year at the Seminary, Frank helped teach a course in oral interpretation of the Bible. He began to feel the need to spend more time developing the talents he felt he would use. He had had his questions answered. He didn't want to be primarily a Bible teacher. He almost went with Young Life, but didn't see enough leniency and openness. Then Jack Sparks happened to speak on the Dallas campus. "My sister called from Oklahoma and said to go talk to Sparks. I tried for three days. A half-hour before he left I got to see him. 'I want to exercise my gifts,' I said. 'What are they?' he asked. 'Drama.' 'I've been looking for you for two and a half years.' He invited me to come out to look the situation over. We accepted them and they us." He arrived in Berkeley "on July 13, 1972 at 5 p.m." and the next day at noon did his first show on campus. "I had already formed a drama troop for Dallas Explo under CWLF's name. One of them came out and helped me." He was concerned about the poor way Christians communicate. "I came to work at Christian communication and if CWLF provided a free and creative atmosphere to do that I was glad to be a part of it. We're free. We don't have to do anything in CWLF. We don't have to go to any meetings or staff conferences. On the other hand, we have a larger body of believers, in the churches, to which we feel indebted. We would like the churches to help us in terms of time, theology, and commitment. We would rather have church elders guide us as men in the church than CWLF elders. CWLF is a helpful vehicle that keeps us in line. I don't personally want to be the chief honcho in any group larger than Street Theater. Within that I want to be the boss. I couldn't work under someone else; I'm too independent. I'm really pleased with CWLF though. It's flexible . . . and lax. I guess they go together. Authority is very loose. I don't need a mother image, so that's fine with me. I'm really pleased. As long as I'm with CWLF I'll do anything they want me to do. My tastes aren't always correct. By being involved in a local church I don't have some of the problems and needs for community that others have in CWLF. I don't look to a service organization for all my needs. I can't go along with one of the elder's coldness, but I live with it. All the diversity of CWLF would not be possible in a tight local church. I see CWLF as a service organization and a mission to the Berkeley culture, churches, etc. It has a broad variety of services, but is very narrow in its spiritual scope. CWLF is just a radical Campus Crusade."

Comments

Frank and CWLF have a mutually satisfying relationship. He knew what he wanted to do, CWLF provided him with a fellowship, a forum, and a scene to do it in. When the street culture changes, when CWLF changes or disappears, Frank will be ready to move on, either in Berkeley or another scene, dedicating himself to Christian communication. He has brought talent and a stable personality to the fellowship. His talent, his personality, and his contributions are highly valued. Frank has come to Berkeley to do something authentic. He is satisfied that he is doing it. He and his wife have become active members in a local church where they have found a very satisfying Christian community. That church in turn has opened itself more to CWLF's style of ministries and also offered economic support in the form of a house.

It is significant that the Berkeley scene and the CWLF style were able to offer Frank the opportunity he needed to do something about his concern for Christian communication. He had already moved beyond Crusade, and Young Life could not or would not give him sufficient freedom. This is one of many instances where the counterculture style of CWLF has attracted those who could not work within the personal or organizational restrictions of other Christian groups. The question to be pressed later is whether this suggests a different kind of Christianity in CWLF (presumably with a different theology) or whether it reflects only a Christianity which has found it possible to adopt a countercultural style.

Finally, one needs to note the meeting between Sparks and Frank. A remarkable number of meetings that come about among Christians in the Jesus movement have this fresh "Dr. Livingston, I presume" quality about them. Frank introduces himself and offers his talents. Sparks asks what they are. Frank says drama. Sparks replies that he has been looking for him for two and a half years. Finally, the Lord delivered! In a community which continually "waits upon the Lord" such meetings are both thrilling and faith-confirming and almost unsurprising.

Jack

Jack is an orthodox Presbyterian minister who has come to Berkeley to infiltrate CWLF. He is thirty-two years old, married, and has three children. He has a beard, is as warm as a teddy bear, looks and acts strong, and embraces you with his smile and hearty laugh.

He was converted at eighteen while watching a Billy Graham telecast. He became a Baptist "because they were the first really warm-hearted Christians I ever met." His parents were a "religious hodgepodge, not Christians at all. We went to the Reformed Church in America as kids." The year after his conversion, Jack's father became a Christian. "My dad joined the Presbyterian Church, it was a tremendous source of fellowship and edification for him. My mother had some experience at the church, too, but I don't know . . ." He has four brothers and two sisters. Only one brother "gives any evidence of being a Christian, and he's really zealous."

When he first heard the Gospel at eighteen, "it was really good news." He was baptized that summer. An influential pastor led him to go to the extremely fundamentalist Bob Jones University. He seems almost embarrassed at having graduated from there. (Perhaps a good indication of where CWLF is at is that its two Bob Jones alumni are both sheepish about having gone there.) "I met my wife there. We were both on the 'Inside,' she working in the office and I as a campus security officer. We could see the pettiness of the whole Bob Jones approach to the Christian life." After graduation he worked on the staff of Youth for Christ and became convinced after two and a half years that he was inadequately trained for a Christian ministry. In his last year at Bob Jones he had taken a philosophy course which led him to see the value of a careful theology, in this case Reformed, even though he was a confirmed Baptist at the time. He remarks that Bob Jones really hated to offer this course, they were so anti-intellectual, and they later forced this professor out. "It was exciting to organize doctrine rather than go leafing through the Bible looking for proof texts." He had also become "fed up with an evangelistic sermon every Sunday." His interest in the Reformed Presbyterian Church eventually led him to Covenant Seiminary in St. Louis.

At Covenant Jack vacillated, was encouraged, then distressed, over the role of the church in twentieth-century America. He had "really become a son of the church." He felt that one should get as much of a hold on the continuity of the church as one could. At the same time he was getting discouraged with his own denomination and what he knew of others. "What passed for church life was meaningless, irrelevant, contentless."

Out in St. Louis County there was a breach in a reformed church where he had been worshipping. The radical students had caused it, people said. He and others began worship services with a fellowship nearby. This lasted for two years, "innovative, fresh, delightful." They were not allied with any denomination but "were careful to be confessional, in the Reformed tradition." Eventually that fellowship became a church in the presbytery. "That experience turned me on to the church all over again. If people are like-minded and devoted, the church could really be something."

As graduation grew near Jack looked at the open pulpits around the country. "They seemed OK, but I had also begun to hear rumblings of the Jesus Movement on the West Coast." In a prayer meeting, after the Look magazine article on the Jesus Movement, the people in the fellowship became convinced that "here's something the Lord is really doing. But it looks like they're setting themselves up to be led down any primrose path. We prayed that God would bring mature people to infiltrate the movement and bring some theological maturity. I never thought of myself. In our family we were just barely keeping our heads above water. We prayed that someone from our group might go. Meanwhile I checked out a ghetto ministry in Philadelphia and was very discouraged. When I came back I met a guy in touch with Jack Sparks, and he asked me to consider California. I said it would be OK if I could support my family somehow. We came out to visit. Everything just locked into place. When things started happening like that, we knew the Lord wanted us to come. We really fell in love with Berkeley, too. We found we could make our own life-style here, and didn't have to conform to everyone else."

Jack and his family moved to Berkeley in September 1971. A local church voted to include them in their missionary budget. They provided about half his "support," but that is dropping off now. They attend that church somewhat out of a sense of obligation. Jack had hoped as he got into CWLF that he might lead many of the churchless people there into his church, but he now sees that this church is unwilling to change in any way and that he himself feels being edged toward the door.

Jack is not actually on the official staff of CWLF. "But certainly I've felt the spiritual bear hug. I also have my denominational allegiance. I'm ordained in our denomination. I came out here to plug into their work as a Bible teacher and to develop an autonomous identity as well, free to develop any number of things."

They rented a house which they promptly dubbed Covenant House, and attracted four students to live there with them. That means fellowship and help with the rent. They hope their House may develop into some kind of a Reformed Presbyterian outpost on the Berkeley scene. "I feel quite at ease in CWLF, but never felt my forte was street freaks. I'm more interested in working with students. I have a tenuous relationship with CWLF. I'm on the Right On staff. I'm glad I don't have to become an official staff member. I worry sometimes, though, they hang so loose. Seems like they're really apart sometimes. Yet they're always getting into new ministries. I remember when I came to visit, one of the elders exuberantly offered me the Oakland House to take over and run. Wow! I backed off a little."

Jack wants to and does maintain his identity as a Reformed Presbyterian, sometimes to the annoyance or chagrin of others in CWLF. Being "a son of the church" is not that typical in CWLF. Churchmanship, having the mind of the church, being ordained, being clergy—these are more often discarded remnants or garments that never were. They seem too ill-fitting for many even to consider trying on.

Jack would like to stay on in Berkeley indefinitely. Yet he feels "geared up mentally for the pastoral ministry. I'd kind of like to have 'the right congregation,' not in some 1950 style. It's entirely possible that in five years all this will have passed on and I'll be in a pastorate somewhere."

Jack continues to keep space between himself an CWLF. "The essentials of a true church are true preaching, the sacraments, and discipline. I really believe that. I don't like the haphazard way CWLF plays around with the sacraments. The way they do bothers me more than that they're not really a church. But it may come from the fact that they're not really a church. To them the sacraments are just symbols. Ridiculous. Discipline is also important. I have already submitted as a Presbyterian to my group. I can't have a divided loyalty. A Presbyterian minister is a member of the presbytery he is in. I see myself as an ambassador of the church to CWLF. I had hoped our local church would be one we could get CWLF people into. It turns out almost every church in Berkeley turns these kids off. These kids just can't live on a 'church dispersed' six days a week. There is this need for family. Yet it's incredible to think the church can be communal—all living within two blocks, eating together, sortie out to jobs, rush right back to fellowship. Even CWLF can't hack that. Movement on both sides needs to happen. More of a sense of community in the institutional church, even in its dispersion, will have to happen. I don't know how to go about changing."

Jack is critical of the level of theology within CWLF. He is sometimes amused, sometimes distressed, seldom happy at what goes for theology. When I asked him who he thought was theologically informed within the fellowship, he could name two and one "by extension" and said that was "if I believed anyone were theologically informed." He is committed to theological principles and frequently uses the adjective "principial" when describing certain points of view. He is critical of CWLF and Right On when the theology seems to be made up while speaking. He thinks theology must precede apologetics, not grow out of it.

Comments

Jack himself avoids laying trips on anyone, but his influence is steady. He has no interest in taking over CWLF and cherishes his identity as a Presbyterian minister. The space he keeps between himself and CWLF allows his influence to be subtle and rarely offensive. No one is threatened by him, though some may find his churchmanship eccentric. His infiltration comes about by example, by teaching, in discussion groups, and in individual conversation. He does not seek access to power in other ways, nor has he attempted to introduce any major reforms.

Jack is stable, well liked, mellow. It is possible that some of women's liberation threatens him—or his theology. He also will not hesitate to call into question theologies in apparent "principial" disagreement with his own. He prizes both his theological tradition and his seminary training. He is sometimes embarrassed, uncomfortable, or frustrated by what may go for theology in CWLF. If there were a term for self-taught and acquired theological sophistication equivalent to *nouveau riche*, Jack would probably use it often to describe what he sees. Jack has the bearing and character to be almost a father figure and certainly an older brother and good friend for some of the people in CWLF.

While he mentions the freedom of life-style which attracts him to Berkeley, he is decisively not a street Christian and not a "paraphraser" of the theological tradition. He is zealous in guarding churchly and theological reality to the point, in some people's view, of being uptight. At least for Berkeley. His conservative Presbyterianism and great concern about principles keep him from the easygoing freedom and looseness which characterize many in CWLF. He would have to draw the boundaries of an evangelical witness considerably tighter than many. This may be a result both of a narrower theological tradition and of a greater understanding of the issues involved.

Footnotes to Chapter II

[1] This is from a Disorientation Guide, a handbook of information for new students, created by radicals as part of Disorientation Week, September 1969. Reprinted in Mitchell Goodman, comp., The movement Toward a New America (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), p. 691.

[2] Robert N. Bellah, "No Direction Home: Religious Aspects of the American Crisis," in Myron B. Bloy, Jr., ed., Search for the Sacred: The New Spiritual Quest (New York: Seabury Press, 1972).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 248.

[5] Donald W. Peterson and Armand L. Mauss, "The Cross and the Commune: An Interpretation of the Jesus People," in Charles Y. Glock, ed., Religion in Sociological Perspective (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1973).

[6] Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, p. 247.

[7] Peterson and Mauss, in Religion in Sociological Perspective.

[8] Arthur Darby Nock, Conversion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 212. Charles Y. Glock, Benjamin B. Ringer, and Earl R. Babbie attempt to operationalize such a notion into "A Theory of Involvement" in To Comfort and To Challenge (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967). They note in summary: "Parishioners whose life situations most deprive them of prestige and gratification in the secular society are the most involved in the church. The church, then, was characterized as an alternative source of rewards for the socially deprived" (p. 109).

[9] Glock and Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, p. 247.

[10] These "stories" are, for the sake of vividness, generally kept in the present tense. That present, together with age and other references, is 1971-72. The reappearance of these people in later chapters reflects their development over time in CWLF. The "where are they now" review of these twelve people in Chapter VII brings their stories up to 1975.

[11] Erik Homburger Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: Norton, 1958), p. 117.

[12] Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965).

[13] Erikson, Young Man Luther, p. 91.

[14] Bellah, "No Direction Home," in Bloy, ed., Search for the Sacred.

[15] This refers to the enumeration of spiritual gifts in the New Testament.

[16] Erikson, Young Man Luther, p. 42.

[17] Ibid., p. 249.

[18] L'Abri was founded in Switzerland by the American Francis Schaeffer, a conservative Presbyterian. It has become an oasis and rite of passage for young evangelicals from around the world who come here for days, weeks, or months of prayer, study, and communal living. For an account of the origin and growth of L'Abri, written by the wife of Francis Schaeffer, see Edith Schaeffer, L'Abri (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House Publishers, 1969). Several people in CWLF leadership positions have spent time at L'Abri. Jack Sparks and his wife have also visited there.

[19] Benjamin David Zablocki, The Joyful Community (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971).

CHAPTER III

GETTING IT TOGETHER

Chapter II is a record of the spiritual voyage that twelve men and women traveled, as they came into CWLF. Their entry into the group occurred in 1971 and 1972. The present chapter traces the origins and early history (1969-1971) of this group, the period of consolidation and structuring (1971-1972), and the year of challenge and change (1973). Several of those whose stories are told in Chapter II are key figures in the evolution of the group during 1973. Later chapters, especially the last, include some of the history of CWLF's evolution after 1973.

This chapter, then, is a historical chapter. It is chiefly a history of the evolution of CWLF leadership, always in relation to changing concepts and identities in the life of the group, and of gradual institutionalization. The discussion of leadership includes the central figure of Jack Sparks, one of the founders of CWLF, the rise and decline of elders, and the development of a staff. The evolution of the concept of staff and the beginnings of a very limited economic rationalization in the life of the group and the conduct of its affairs are seen as the chief indicators of very gradual institutionalization. The chapter is arranged chronologically.

Charismatic Beginnings, 1969-1971

In Chapter I we saw the three missionaries to Berkeley who would found CWLF deliberating in Los Angeles about whether to come to Berkeley, making a trial run, and then coming here to pursue the ministry they felt called to. We saw the stage that was Berkeley and the antics of these missionaries as they jockeyed for position on the stage.

For months after Jack Sparks,[1] Pat, and Fred arrived in April 1969, they themselves were the sole ministry of what would become CWLF. Whatever was done, they did. They were like missionaries in new mission territory. It would be some time before the fruits of their labors would take the shape of new Christians ready to take up the ministry through which they had been won to Christ. It would take even longer before other Christians would come to be attracted by what they saw God doing in Berkeley.

It was up to them to set their style and form their methods. They were determined not to make the mistakes they thought the conservative Campus Crusade for Christ had made in its attempts to evangelize the University. There would be no telephone marathons calling to conversion, no "straight" dress worn, no hard-line evangelistic tracts, no climactic Billy Graham appearance. By deliberate choice the three missionaries were determined to work in the style Berkeley seemed to call for. They never knew themselves what they would do next, and often seemed surprised at what they were doing at the moment. The Berkeley environment shaped them.

Not long after they arrived they began encountering the question the scribes in the New Testament asked Jesus: "By what authority do you do these things?" It is the question the institution forces on unrecognized charisma and the question rival charismatics shout at one another. Shocked ministers, uptight evangelicals, upstaged campus pastors, angry SDSers, and annoyed street people all pressed the issue. As in other ages and different times, the missionaries looked for refuge and legitimation in a "doctrine of the call." They prayed to God and talked with each other and looked at the people they had come to save. They had a mandate from God. They had been called to Berkeley. If their style was loose, their methods uncertain, they were committed to the absolute value of their Christianity. They believed it for its own sake, entirely independent of any prospects of external success. They thought it had set them down in the middle of Berkeley to begin their work.

They lived and acted in the flush of their own enthusiasm and the breakthrough atmosphere which pervaded Berkeley in those days. There was a feeling that revolutionary things were about to happen, that transformations were being made, that a new stage of human or religious evolution was aborning, that something old was dying. It was a creative and explosive and destructive time. No doubt the missionaries were excited by the absolute evil they sometimes saw in SDS, by the plight of street people, by their own assurance of being called, by the dramas of confrontation, and by the new world Berkeley was for them.

Partly the environment was a dare, a challenge to them. As though they were Old Testament prophets determined to raise Yahweh's glory higher than Baal's, or Moses outdoing Pharaoh's magicians. They had moral fervor and certainty. They tried anything. If they needed money they prayed for it and immediately began acting as if it was on its way. If SDS made signs, they made them. If outshouting rival salvation-bringers was what Sproul Plaza on the University campus called for, they developed loud voices and incredible gall. Of course, they offended everyone.

Eventually, a few began to see something in the missionaries and to respond. What did they see? Why did they respond? We may suppose that those who were drawn to the missionaries' person or message saw that person and message connected somehow with the core of their own existence or with the landscape of the society of the late sixties as they were experiencing it. They were set resonating. The missionaries seemed to have connections with larger reality, to be in touch with cosmic dimensions. To be around people that certain gave comfort or excitement or reason for cautious hope. Some in the churches thought this all so fresh and creative and authoritative compared to the tired survival struggles that kept their own institutions occupied. To some searching for meaning, consistency, order, to some in despair that anything would ever come together again, these missionaries came with the certainty of "You have heard it said . . . but we say to you."

Many who were experiencing a shattering of the existing social-cultural order were ready to respond to new symbols that would give meaning to their experiences and lives. The missionaries talked about a Forever Family and tried to act out what it would mean in their beginning efforts at "Christian Houses." They listened to people and touched them and sometimes fed them. They entered the campus marketplace with the message that Christianity could also compete. Partly it was their boldness and audacity, partly it was the certainty or comfort of their message, partly it was the novel experience of Christianity operating at the level of campus debates, rallies, and demonstrations.

Something about these prophets' style, however, was different from that of the classic Old Testament prophet. They often coupled with their "Thus saith the Lord" a rather utilitarian invitation to "check it out to see if it doesn't work for you, too." Eventually, a Jesus song came to be written, with the title "Why don't you look into Jesus, I really recommend it." Perhaps their position in a certain revivalist tradition, perhaps a Berkeley audience wary of people who laid trips on them, kept the prophets from the outlandish "take it or leave it" which sometimes characterized the prophets of Israel. The most significant difference, however, is these prophets' unwillingness to set a world stage for God's activity and grandly call the plays they see him making. The scope of Yahweh's activity in Berkeley was often reduced to the stage of individual lives and hearts.

As the early missionaries attracted a small following and began allowing some of their new converts to live with them in a Christian House, a period of paternal leadership began in the life of CWLF which lasted for about two years, 1969-1971. By 1971 and 1972 that informal paternal style had been structured and consolidated. By 1973, and already to some extent before, it would come under heavy challenge.

By definition, the early fruits of the missionaries' labors were "new Christians," babes in the Lord, as they were often called. Some were coming from heavy drug use, occasionally trying to hold on to that habit. Some were rejects from a society that could not make use of their ill-fitting or inadequate personalities. Some were committed to a loose life-style and revolted by middle-class notions of work and responsibility. The missionaries came to see themselves as fathers helping the new babes to begin their "Christian walk."

Many of the new converts would crash at the home of Jack Sparks and his family. They assumed or came to assume that someone would feed them and clean up after them. Sometimes the missionaries and their wives did more than the new babes asked: clean laundry and clean bedding were often not high on the new converts' list of priorities. Often it did not occur to these "children" to offer services in return. In short, they were a drag on the Christian household. But the Sparkses were determined to adopt them into the Forever Family. They believed many of these new Christians had never been part of a warm, loving family. They wanted to give them that. A close, caring community seemed to be the very essence of what God had promised for his people. They also tried to instill some idea of what being a responsible member of such a family was like. They found odd jobs which the new Christians could do to raise money for food and rent. They encouraged the sharing of household tasks. They worked toward a community in which people did things for each other. At the same time they were anxious to avoid laying on these young charges anything that was "purely a middle class trip." In many respects the missionaries had left the middle class.

To many of those first followers the missionaries were examples: father, mother, older brother, trusted elders. They looked up to them and sought their guidance. They depended on them. They expected them to "lead them into the Word," to help them mature in Christ, to answer their religious questions, to advise them on personal hassles, to pick them up when they were down, to come and get them when they ran off, to laugh with them when they were high, to hold their hand when they were down. Often, but not always, they hoped or expected the missionaries would take them into their house, feed and shelter them. Jack and Pat and Fred[2] felt needed, and began to function in a paternal way.

In those early days there was little need of overt legitimation for their roles, although the missionaries themselves used their calling as legitimation when they experienced self-doubt. Rescue from aimlessness, new meaning to replace anomie, food, warmth, shelter, family, understanding, patience, sympathy, love, joy—these were legitimation enough. By and large the new Christians trusted their leaders. They trusted them to do what was best. Indeed, the acclamation that followers give leaders, the charisma they recognize (or create by recognizing) is legitimation enough.

There were those, of course, whose ideas about authority made it impossible to accept any leadership. It was difficult to tell a Hell's Angel what to do, even if he was a converted Hell's Angel. Some found it necessary continually to challenge the leaders, often pitting their own new spirituality against that of their "fathers in the Lord." The missionaries, after all, had made the Bible an open book. And it was a dangerous one. Some learned how to "one-up" the missionaries with their own "words of the Lord." After long meditation or with the assistance of drugs, one or two brothers thought themselves Gnostic elitists.

As long as the first missionaries were the only possible leaders, as long as CWLF was a small family, as long as their charisma was obvious on Telegraph Avenue and in Sproul Plaza, the paternal leadership functioned well for the group. Such leadership is scarcely unusual in such a situation. CWLF leadership did not even come close to the authoritarianism which prevails in the more successful therapeutic communities for drug addicts.

Always the legitimation, in their own minds, for their ministry and leadership was their call to put down roots and raise up a family in Berkeley. Jack Sparks once wrote: "Those God makes concerned were those God was calling." These prophets' burden was for the counterculture and for students. Their call was to make Christ an issue.

Perhaps the most important reason why the paternal leadership worked so well in CWLF's early life in Berkeley is that it was both benevolent and extremely flexible or loose. Doctrinally, there were no creeds. The new believer asked Jesus into his life and made some kind of profession that he wanted to begin a Christian walk. Although a conservative evangelical theology was always in the background, religious experience and personal relationships and the Christian walk stayed more important than doctrinal formulations or abundant legalisms. The life-style was adapted to the street culture, so that the missionaries could be all things to all men. Regular hours were unknown, people didn't get up too early, things happened when they could. It was a culture of improvisation, and it fit well into the missionaries' beliefs about how the Holy Spirit would work and what a life of prayer meant. Jack Sparks' oft-stated goal was minimum structure and maximum flexibility. Everyone was free to come and find his own niche. "We never fill anyone's position when he leaves." People created their own compartments, if they needed them, and those compartments disappeared when they left. Jack Sparks' personal freedom and willingness to let CWLF be free may be related to two factors. First, he had not grown up in the church and seemed amazingly devoid of religious baggage of any kind. "I have little interest in making distinctions or digging channels," he once said. Second, Jack had come to Berkeley looking for a way to be free in ministry, expecting to be free, wanting to be free. That he fit so well is evidenced by his obvious enjoyment and sense of roots in Berkeley, several years later. Pat and Fred did not take on the Berkeley coloration.

The honeymoon period of charismatic leadership and the unrivaled legitimation of the call would not last indefinitely or go forever without challenge. The paternal, if free, leadership continued for about two years, partly because young Christians often gladly acquiesced in it. That kind of leadership worked best while CWLF was a Family of young Christians. When it became a Family with more mature Christians, when some felt the call to structure the growing up of the young Christians, when some began seeing CWLF not primarily as a Family but as a coalition of ministries, the pressures built up for change. First consolidation and structure happened; then challenge and change.

Structure and Consolidation, 1971-1972

By 1971 several key ministries, discussed in Chapter V, had developed. A small group of people willing to work full time for CWLF, perhaps about twenty, had come into being. Several Christian Houses, in addition to Jack Sparks' house, were in use by the family. Some of the ministries were sufficiently advanced as to require a division of labor, with people with certain kinds of skills or interests going into certain kinds of ministries. It was becoming possible to see CWLF as a group of creative ministries as well as a family of new Christians and their leaders. Regular Monday evening meetings or family celebrations were being held, attracting from twenty to a hundred people.

Toward the end of this important time, another of the three original founders, Pat, left CWLF. Pat had become more and more dissatisfied with being supported by other people. He also had some reservations about the directions in which CWLF was moving. Nor did he have the happy sense of roots in Berkeley that Jack had acquired, with the counterculture coloration that went with it. A business venture was presented to him through which he hoped to make enough money to support himself in future ministry for some time. That venture was a disaster. He continued active in a conservative Presbyterian church in the Bay Area and eventually went to Southern California to work with Hal Lindsey. At this time also, two particularly strong leaders, Larry and Bob, entered the group. Both had come from straight, middle-class, business backgrounds. Larry had been a sales manager, and Bob was in real estate. It might be true to say they came to help the family grow up, to steer the emerging organization in the right direction, to bring its affairs into order. Consciously or unconsciously they seemed to be working to insure that countercultural values did not predominate and that the openness to middle-class evnagelicalism and middle-class Americanism be maintained. Larry became the business manger of CWLF. Bob became a key advisor to some of the Christian Houses. Both assumed a leadership role that would eventually be called "elder."

The evolution from an easygoing paternalism to a more structured leadership was very gradual. Partly, the structure developed to meet challenges to leaders whose sole legitimation had been their charisma. Partly, it developed for the very purpose of the routinization of that charisma.

A ready-made challenge, even in the early days, could come from anyone who had a rival call. It was seldom grandiose, seldom a rival spiritual position set up against that of the leaders. It was non-compliance. Somone quitting a job the leaders had worked hard to find for him because he felt the Lord calling him to spend all his time "in the Word." Someone refusing to do his share in the Christian House because the Lord did not seem to be calling him on that day. Young Christians slipping out of their ministries because the excitement they thought was God's call had left. In their pre-Christian days they might simply have said they weren't into that trip anymore. Now they had learned the language of evangelicalism. They said the Lord wasn't leading them to do that. Had they been in school, some counselor would have written on their record that they lost interest quickly or had a short attention span. A mature cultural analyst, of which there was no lack at the time, would have written of their openness to many things, if he thought himself free and daring, and deplored their instantism and faddishness, if he tended to be anal.

The notion of call was very slippery. The leaders learned to resort to that saying Paul himself had come up with for the excessively enthusiastic and charismatic Corinthian congregation: "Let all things be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40). There were two ways the leaders could exert power if they needed to. Since they controlled the Christian Houses as the de facto landlords, they could evict an erring child in the Lord if necessary. Further, since at any time the majority of people in CWLF acknowledged their leadership, they could bring the pressure of the entire group to bear on deviant members, causing them to repent and come around or to leave. Scriptural words which illuminated the person's inability "to submit himself" or which called attention to the obvious discrepancies in his Christian walk would often be used on such occasions. Yet, overall, there were not too many such occasions. The leadership was by no means under continual challenge of any overt kind, and there were few blatant exercises of authoritarian social control.

In most cases the leadership of Jack Sparks had the quality to bind the group together. Years after CWLF was begun, people still listened in a different way when he spoke. Though eventually he became a Director, with several elders following in the chain of command, he continued to operate as in the early days, a leadership of moral example and gentleness. Many thought questioning his decisions would hurt his feelings, and so hesitated. His entire self seemed to be bound up in CWLF, and people did not wish to challenge that. Yet he was the first to keep saying that when the time came for CWLF to disappear and for God to raise up some other ministry, it would be fine with him. As structures rose around him, he often acted as if they were not there. Sometimes this pleased people very much, as when he would privately excuse a brother or sister from what they saw as some authority trip being laid on them by one of the elders. Sometimes this frustrated people, as when they saw Jack willing to evade but not confront the incipient bureaucracy or undemocratic authority they saw emerging.

But the notion and exercise of authority was bound to develop. Eventually those leaders who, with Jack, were most clearly directing the group were called elders. The significance and power of the elders developed in 1971-1972. At first they were simply and literally elders—men who were somewhat older and more mature in the Christian faith. They dealt with problems that came up in the Christian Houses, they charted the direction the ministries would take, they did whatever day-to-day planning was done, they took responsibility for seeing that certain necessary jobs got done, they led Bible studies and the Monday

Night Family Meetings. As yet there was no carefully thought out rationale for this authority; no attempt was made to extend it into every area or to develop normative rules and rights. In terms of Max Weber's typology,[3] there was no "rational-legal" legitimation for the exercise of this authority, nor was much "traditional" legitimation argued for.

There was no necessity (or possibility?) to incur the validation of the New Testament because CWLF was not a church. There was never a suggestion that the group was modeling its "church government" after that of the early church. Yet there clung to that word elder a good deal of legitimacy of precisely a "traditional" kind. Even after the time of the early charismatic paternalism had passed, and after later attempts to pass the word off as merely a matter of definition (elder means whatever we say it means), young Christians who studied the Word and more mature Christians who joined in CWLF ministries could hardly be or remain unaware of the theological freight that the word elder carried. It was heavily legitimizing in early church history and again among the free churches. In the American evangelical tradition it was a common and meaningful term, not a word whose implications one could easily ignore. Nor was it a word that acceded easily to the needs and demands of women's liberation. The evangelical tradition knew few or no female elders, and culture-bound Christians were not likely to see any in the early church either. We shall see below that when the term elder evolved into nothing more than a label for a certain kind of leader of the organization, its unadmitted theological-traditional legitimation hung on—allowing the male inhabitants of that office the best of both worlds. Their office carried weight, but, at least in the eyes of some of the brothers and sisters, they exercised that weight without the spiritual care, brotherliness, and servanthood which characterized the elders of the early church.

As the ministries developed more and more during this period (1971-1972), as CWLF became less exclusively identified as a family, as the early charismatic paternalism became less and less appropriate, more power and authority flowed upward to the elders—almost by default, since no other structure had yet evolved. Eventually, some people coming into CWLF were less open to charismatic leadership and authority, especially those self-reliant, self-actualizing people we met in group three in Chapter II. Those who would fit in the first and second groups of Chapter II continued to be willing to acknowledge the leadership of Jack Sparks and to submit to him as their spiritual leader, but even they gradually came to question the role that the elders were coming to play. They were comfortable with a spiritual father, but not a lot of older brothers. How challenges to the elders began to come and what changes were made, we shall see below in the third section of this chapter, which records the events of 1973.

How, then, did the elders come to function in 1971-1972; what kind of structures did they develop; how was their authority felt? We mention first a specific instance in which they exercised authority, then the development of staff and the emergence of economic rationalization under the direction of the elders.

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During this time the number of elders varied from four to six, with Jack Sparks, in a sense, also functioning as an elder. Bob and Larry, whom we have already mentioned, became elders as their help and good intentions were welcomed into the group. Chiefly, it was Jack who simply appointed them to be elders. David, whom we met in Chapter II in the third group, also became an elder, as his talents and high energy were quickly recognized and utilized. The two or three other elders were, in one case a convert who had come to considerable spiritual and personal maturity, and in the other cases experienced Christians in their twenties who had come to CWLF to help with the ministry they saw developing in Berkeley. Jack and the elders met weekly to discuss current problems, future directions, the various ministries and Houses, and any particular person in the group who needed attention. Often their decisions filtered down with few being quite aware where they came from. At any given time, many in CWLF would have been unable to name all of the elders. Yet specific ministries came increasingly to feel their guidance or pressure, and the beginnings of rules for the Christian Houses came from the elders especially. At the same time that he was convening weekly elder meetings, Jack continued to play the roles he had always played: spiritual father, counselor, friend, hard worker, proponent of loose and flexible style, model of easygoing leadership.

A good example of the elders' power in the group is their decision to terminate the basic weekly Family Meeting of CWLF. In the following account, the abruptness with which their decision was forced on the group is to be noticed; so also, however, is the long-term resiliency of the group in the face of such decisions from above. In the spring of 1972 a special Family Meeting was called in the morning. Jack Sparks rose almost haltingly to say that the elders were recommending that the regular Monday Night Family Meeting be discontinued. He said they had deliberated over this for a long time and were convinced it must be done. He said, almost apologetically, that if the group might not want to go along with the suggestion, the decision could be modified or withdrawn. CWLF wanted to shy away from making anything, even the Monday Night Family Meeting, into an institution: it could become a new Sunday morning meeting, at 11 a.m. Instead, the new ideal would be many family meetings happening in many different Christian Houses throughout Berkeley at different times. This would provide a Christian presence in various neighborhoods and help insure that new people were always being invited. Jack's argument seemed to be a plea for a return to the early days. It also reflected a common evangelistic strategy of dividing groups with the expectation that soon each of the "daughter" groups would be as large as the original "mother" group.[4]

Another elder, however, presented other reasons, suggesting not a return to the old days, implicit in Jack's words and tone, and not a strategy of adding to the community, but a strategy for greater control. He told how difficult and frustrating it was to lead the Monday night meetings. Anyone and everyone could come in off the streets and lay their trips on the group. He was powerless to prevent it. Nor did the "regular" brothers and sisters ever move to get back on the subject or rebuke such digressions. It was "difficult to stay in the Word and keep the meeting going as planned." Clearly, this elder had a different view of the many free spirits who wandered into the Family Meetings from many of the regulars.

Then Larry began in a very different style from that of the first two elders, sounding more like a corporation executive informing lower management of a recent Board decision. His voice was always firm when he spoke to the group, and there was the hint in his tone that he did not expect to be contradicted. His argument to the group was very brief: CWLF's first responsibility was to its staff (about twenty-five people by this time). The Monday night meeting was more like a free-for-all, serving no one well. His notion that CWLF's prime attention needed to be turned away from the streets and the campus to its own staff is highly revealing of his own position and of his assumptions about the direction in which CWLF was moving.

Jack Sparks then called for discussion. Very little was said. The group was remarkably acquiescent. Eventually, David, also an elder, separated himself from the proposal and suggested that Monday evening could at least be a kind of Jesus music sing-along. Another woman, who would fit in our third group in Chapter II, argued that many people looked to the Monday evening meeting as their one sure point of contact with a Christian community. They would get lost in the shuffle if a variety of small meetings replaced it. She suggested doing both. She also mentioned the number of people constantly passing through Berkeley who wanted to look up CWLF and used the Monday night meeting for that purpose. They could not possibly get in on a grapevine or even written communication network which would reveal the times and places of many small meetings. Most others in the group made obedient nods to the proposal, although there were a few more minor dissents. Larry then rose to terminate the discussion by announcing firmly that this coming Monday evening meeting would be the last.

Not only are the varying styles of leadership exercised by the elders interesting. The group's reponse is also interesting, suggesting perhaps learned ways of dealing with authorities. Indeed, in less than a month the Monday Night Family Meeting was going strong again—only now on Saturday evening. What began to change by 1973 was the group's way of dealing with the elders' exercise of authority. In some ways, the elders were no more successful in 1972 than they were in the year of challenge and change, 1973, in passing their will onto the group. A diffuse group, committed to countercultural flexibility and a near cult of improvisation, could manage to work its own way, whatever the elders said. But more general directions, and especially the development of staff and the functions of economics, were successfully being influenced and set by the elders. To that we now turn.

The Staff

As the work being done in the first year of CWLF began to attract the attention of other Christians, CWLF began to see a slow influx of people who were already Christians coming to Berkeley to help with the ministry. Sometimes there would be extensive correspondence with Jack Sparks before the person came to Berkeley. Other times someone would just show up, announcing that he felt called by God to share in the CWLF ministry. With a minimum of structure or formal procedures he simply began working with the team.

By 1971 CWLF leaders themselves were becoming aware of the great possibilities and needs for new ministries. They realized they could not do all the things God seemed to be opening up in Berkeley; yet they wanted to see what was happening continued and expanded. In short, they began, at first informally, to recruit. They asked many who came to Christ through their ministries to stay and work with them. In their newsletters to interested Christians around the country they wrote glowingly of what was happening in Berkeley, urging all to pray about it and inviting many to consider whether God might be calling them to join CWLF in Berkeley.

The charisma of the early missionaries was, in the eyes of many, being transferred to the entire group. There was a certain magical attraction to what was going on in Berkeley. "Christians in Berkeley!" Some began to feel that if they came to Berkeley they could be alive, authentic, excited, and exciting—and at the cutting edge, too. Such a ministry promised personal transformation. For some straight evangelicals it was a legitimate way to immerse oneself in the attractive counterculture. The routinization of the early charisma, at this stage, seemed to mean the transfer of that charisma to the group and the evolution of a "contact" charisma.[5]

Being "on staff" came to mean for about thirty brothers and sisters in 1971-1972 a more or less full-time commitment to some aspect of CWLF's ministry. This could be working on the newspaper, witnessing on campus, overseeing a Christian House, helping in the business office, counseling at Rising Son Ranch, etc. A staff person was either paid from CWLF funds, as helpers in the business office were, or he raised support which was channeled through CWLF. We shall see more about the economics shortly.

Increasingly, coming on the staff became an orderly procedure. While the word "call" was used, the word "appointment" might have been closer to reality. As the power of the elders grew, the structure became rationalized. The legitimation for leadership authority became less charismatic and more "rational-pragmatic."

It is clear that someone who talks often and self-consciously about his call is harder to control than someone who is appointed to the staff. An organization is difficult to run if thirty different words from the Lord are going in every direction. No one, however, could deny the possibility of someone's having a call to Berkeley. Everyone was willing to praise the Lord for anyone God called to minister here. But a distinction developed between a call to Berkeley and being on CWLF's staff. It was difficult and unpleasant to dispute someone's call. It was relatively easy to keep him from coming on staff. To many, all of this was simply orderly procedure. CWLF could keep its house in order.

By November 1971, two and a half years after CWLF's beginnings, the elders were able to issue the following policy statement regarding staff membership:

THE POLICY STATEMENT OF ELDERS

It was agreed that the following discussion and motions should govern the selection of future staff members and the selection of Elders from among the Brothers.

Staff membership means that:

1. The applicant has and displays the gifts which are needed at this time in this ministry, and
2. The applicant has experienced a genuine call of God to this ministry in Berkeley, and
3. The applicant agrees to place himself under the authority of the Elders, and
4. The applicant agrees to raise his own support through C.W.L.F. unless otherwise agreed upon by the Elders.

The qualifications of a staff member generally come down to:

1. A teachable spirit
2. A heart for God
3. Christian maturity
4. Not a recent convert
5. Generally adhering to the qualifications listed in 1 Tim. 3:8-13.

The qualifications of an Elder shall generally follow that of 1 Tim. 3:1-7.

In addition to the above, a prospective staff member shall be tested in his walk and gifts for a period of three months, being observed by an Elder. If there is a Brother with a known walk and gifts, then the three months will not apply.

Secondly, all prospects shall be interviewed by an Elder and, after the time of testing, be approved by not less than three Elders.

Thirdly, the prospective member shall be responsible for all prior debts and obligations unless otherwise agreed upon. Any military or judicial obligations must be openly declared and settled to the satisfaction of the Elders.

Any person not a staff member who has a leadership role in C.W.L.F. shall have at least the same qualifications as a staff member of an Elder appropriately.

Fourthly, all applicants and staff members should consult with their own Elder and Pat Matrisciana for procedures to follow regarding all support raising activities—all the Brothers and Sisters shall submit to Pat the names of prospective supporters for approval prior to contact.

Noteworthy in this document is the emphasis on control, the ability to submit, economic rationalization, maleness, and apprenticeship. The document arose and was presented at a fall leadership conference. It suggests the increasing power of the elders and their intent to routinize the group, a clear determination to order the influx of new people in the coming years, and some dissatisfaction with the present staff, the presence of some of whom was regarded by the elders as an unfortunate _fait accompli_.

Two examples may suggest how effectively the control implied in this document could be exercised. We have seen in Chapter II that a brother named Barry was full of grand plans for his ministry but was unsuccessful in bringing them to reality. His relation to CWLF was very loose. He said he was and was not on staff. Months passed as he kept plodding away in the basement floor of Dwight House, where some of the CWLF offices were at that time, trying to develop his Hot Line ministry. Finally he got the telephone number listed and began taking calls, all the while thinking of training programs for the large number of volunteers he would need. It seemed logical to Barry that he should come on CWLF staff as a "head of ministry," a title the elders had begun using. Barry began to discover the elders had trouble finding time to talk to him about this. One suggested he write an autobiography to submit. Barry called another brother in CWLF to ask about this. The brother replied, "Go straight to Jack Sparks. Nobody else ever had to submit an autobiography." It was a typical response from one who did not understand or did not know about the new way of doing things. Going to Jack, going around the structural edifice that was rising, and meeting in the mellow sunshine backyard of the old days would be the answer. Sometimes it was, as we shall see below. Jack played the game often enough himself. It was, after all, out in the backyard beyond the structural edifice that he really lived. It was there that the original CWLF had come into being. That was the location of the good old days and of Jack's consciousness. In this case, however, Jack was willing to let the structure work. Barry did not come on staff. Jack shared the other elders' reservations about Barry.

Another time Barry enthusiastically shared with Bob a letter he had just received from an eighteen-year-old brother in Detroit. He had been active in witnessing, had been distributing tracts, had gotten a prison ministry going, and now wanted to come to Berkeley because he had read about CWLF in the Right On newspaper.

"How about it, Bob?"

"Well, he'd have to fill out the usual forms."

"He sure sounds good to me."

"Maybe he should mature a little before he is so sure what the Lord is calling him to do."

"He's eighteen. Perfect for campus ministry."

"Not necessarily."

"Well, could he live at the Richmond House if he came, while you looked him over?"

"I don't make those decisions."

The other example is that of a sister who felt God calling her to active involvement in the women's movement. She saw an important sharing ministry with non-Christians and nonevangelical Christians in the movement. She had also just begun to get involved with a group producing a socialist paper. Bob strongly reminded her that she had come on the staff with the assignment of campus witnessing and suggested that the congregation which was contributing most of her support was funding _that_ ministry and not something else. When Jack, who was away on a speaking tour at the time, heard of her troubles, he phoned long distance to assure her that she should follow God's calling and not concern herself unduly with any trips other people might be trying to lay on her. No doubt a key ingredient in Jack's behavior was his increasing openness to women's issues and his fervent intent to keep an evangelical opening to the left. Both Bob and Larry, on the other hand, tended to a hardline position on women's issues and an even harder line on leftist politics.

Economics

The only marked institutionalization in CWLF has occurred in the business office. It may be that the tightening up of the concept of staff is due chiefly to economic rationalization. (Unauthorized free spirits can be a drain on the group's resources. Also, the pool of potential supporters from whom one can solicit money is only so large.) One cannot minimize the importance of economics for the evolution of every part of the group. Economic interests do not sit unobtrusively in a quiet corner of the organization, though they may seem to. (The

CWLF business office is indeed significantly removed from the area south of campus where the Christian Houses have generally been located, where ministries are carried on, where meetings and worhip are held, where brothers and sisters gather to interact, etc.) Economic rationalization may eventually require institutionalization down the line and be the most powerful force in the group's evolution beyond an early charismatic stage. Elizabeth, whom we met in group three in Chapter II, said once that Larry, the business manager elder, "made CWLF what it never was."

When Jack and Pat and Fred first arrived they supported themselves on a subsistence level through the contributions of interested friends and other Christians who heard of their work. They expected the Lord to provide for this ministry in Berkeley if he wanted them there. Like Elijah they waited to see what the day's ravens would bring. They were free in their expectations and free with what they had. "In those days Jack would have sent a copy of Right On to everyone in Berkeley if the spirit moved him. He didn't know." CWLF tended to think of the "Wanted: Jesus" poster which circulated at this time as theirs, since it had first appeared, they thought, in the second issue of Right On. When the poster began appearing around the world, they just praised the Lord. There was no thought of copyrighting material. (When Right On later thought of copyrighting it was because the editors had begun to worry about the integrity of their material and were concerned that large numbers of people and other Jesus papers could copy their material inaccurately or with significant omissions. It was not an economic concern.) Benjamin Zablocki has described how the Bruderhof

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refused to get patents on the toys they designed and produced. Others copied them and made a great deal of money.[6]

Money was not necessarily a scarce commodity in the evangelical culture to which CWLF looked for support. Ramparts found it necessary to report the funding of Billy Graham and the selling of Key 73, the national evangelism campaign of 1973.[7] One does not observe this subculture long without noticing the evangelical flimflam man with his Bibles and other paraphernalia.[8] Others are the filmers and recorders of the Jesus movement, producing heart-warming documentaries for the evangelical market. They come to town in smart Hollywood threads, white bucks, and hair professionally trimmed to quasi-countercultural length. Their wives or female assistants are beautifully coiffed and smartly dressed, clearly standing out as they sit demurely at a Monday evening meeting. They arrive at CWLF, talk hip about the really "right on" ministries they see developing in Berkeley, and make whatever ingratiating remarks they feel necessary about the vacuity and irrelevance of the straight style of Campus Crusade for Christ. Who knows what line they hand Campus Crusade? A variety of people for a variety of reasons were interested in marketing the Jesus movement. They are not all alike, of course. Two CWLF brothers made a film called "Here Comes the Son" about CWLF's ministry and sold all their equipment to get enough money to print it. CWLF has shown the film repeatedly, without charge, to enthusiastic groups. A local school teacher, friendly to CWLF but not a member of the group, has taken a second mortgage on his home to open a Christian bookstore on Telegraph Avenue.

Within the evangelical culture, then, there is a certain mind-set and a certain availability of funds. In a way significantly different from many other Christians, evangelicals seem to expect opportunities for giving financially, outside regular church structures, to worthy causes and worthy people in Christian missions and ministries. This may relate to the longstanding tradition of free mission societies which were not tied into denominational structures. They existed partly to preserve local autonomy of congregations and to make unnecessary the bureaucratic and centralized organizations which, in mainstream Protestantism, "handle" the mission enterprise. Which of the mainline Protestant denominations would send a missionary into the field, assure him of prayers, and offer to be of whatever help to him it could as he raises his own support?

Contributions from evangelical Christians for such causes and people are an important means of support not only for CWLF but for Campus Crusade and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship as well, the latter two very important evangelical, nondenominational groups working on college campuses. Willingness to contribute is not at all limited to wealthy people. Most of the brothers and sisters in CWLF find their support coming from working-class and middle-class people. CWLF has no angels. Susan mentions that one family a minister suggested she visit became excited about the ministry in Berkeley she described and agreed to send her a small amount every month, saying they didn't really need a new freezer anyway.

As CWLF grew, then, it became common for all who committed themselves to staff to raise support for themselves. A person would send "prayer letters" to relatives or friends or interested Christians whose names were given to them. The prayer letter may be a quite personal letter. It is a means of describing one's ministry, one's growth in the Lord, of asking for prayers, and of soliciting economic support. Often such letters are sent every month to all those who are interested in one's ministry. They serve as thank-you notes as well. Sometimes just prayer, and no economic support, is invited. Occasionally, these prayer letters are developed into a more formal and much more elaborate newsletter. All those in street theater once sent out a four-page printed folder, describing the ministry of the street theater and the backgrounds of all those participating. It included pictures of them in action. The regular CWLF newsletter is in a sense an elaborate prayer letter. It keeps an extensive mailing list informed on CWLF activities, plans for the future, specific needs, and solicits encouragement and economic support. Often there are invitations to people who might be interested in coming to Berkeley to join the ministry.

Not all people in CWLF like using prayer letters, and not all do. When Elizabeth came on the staff, she was determined to "set an example" and not "go on support." She would find a part-time job for her subsistence. She recalled her first visits to Berkeley in the early years of CWLF and her impressions of everyone living on welfare and support. Later she saw the group differently, but still was determined to pay her own way.

Others may prefer to seek support very informally. In 1971 Pat laid down formal procedures which everyone was expected to follow. After he left, there was greater freedom to seek support in whatever ways were comfortable. Some still find the whole notion unacceptable—or wish they did not have to use it.

Occasionally, one church may provide very significant support for a given person, perhaps a member of that church. In the spring of 1973 Jack excitedly announced that a church in New Orleans had just decided to send $3,600 over the next year in support of one of the sisters who came out of that church into CWLF's ministries. Such large amounts are unusual. Typically, any one person received monthly support from many people in amounts from $5 to $50.

CWLF's business office incorporated as a nonprofit corporation called Evangelical Concerns. Almost all support is sent to the CWLF office, earmarked for a particular person or ministry, and is tax deductible. The office takes care of all aspects of staff members' finances and keeps the equivalent of an account for each person. If the account should dry up, if the person should fail to gain sufficient support through prayer letters or other means, he or she or the business office may consider that an indication that God is no longer calling that person to a ministry in Berkeley.

Because not many people naturally choose to live at poverty level, one may expect some legitimation provided for such a life. Of course, some of those coming into CWLF had already adopted certain countercultural values and had learned to scorn the making of much money as a significant goal in life. They were committed to living on very little and adopting the kind of life-style which does not require much money. Others may be people not likely to find jobs in straight society anyway. At least they were working for the Lord, while living on minimum subsistence. Still others were in the convenient situation of seeing subsistence living as romantic or an exciting experiment. In the back of their minds they knew they could reenter the regular job market at any time or write home to their parents for support. But generally there occurred in prayers, devotions, prayer meetings, and in other ways the attitude that doing the Lord's work with whatever sustenance he provides shows real discipleship and radical Christian commitment. Trust and reliance in the Lord is often offered as the alternative to worrying about money and getting ahead financially. In one or two cases a special kind of legitimation occurs. A person may bring in through one means or another two to five times the support that most brothers and sisters raise. Nevertheless, the important consideration the community is urged to keep remembering is that this person gave up a lot—for example, a $25,000 job. One hears often that such a person gave up so much to devote himself to CWLF. This is exceedingly important legitimation to the many who could not even imagine a $25,000 salary. At first, it rarely occurs to them to compare unfavorably the support they receive with that which this person gets. On the other hand, there are a few individuals who can say, "He gave up a tremendous house in the Berkeley Hills for a somewhat less tremendous house in the Berkeley Hills."

The clearest example of economic rationalization is the expectation, by 1972, that any prospective staff member raise a year's support before he joins the team. People who have done that are held up as examples. By no means does this economic rationalization signal necessarily the decline of CWLF. One always has certain alternatives to consider, some of which have been chronicled and disparaged in books on the Jesus movement—people living together to loaf, assuming other Christians owe them a living, never getting themselves together enough to accomplish anything, running up debts they are never able to pay, leaving God to face their creditors, etc.

Larry's comments at a spring 1972 staff conference suggest the rationalization which had occurred in the business office:

> Joyce works steadily, probably more than anyone else; it's steady unglamorous work. She's there all the time. We can't have a lot of 'thank you Jesus' going on in the office. It would distract her from her work. The office is not a place to congregate, to have a good time and meet other brothers and sisters. If you have something to do, come in and do it quietly, like in a library. And then leave. We will enjoy your leaving more than your arriving. One person is doing bookkeeping, another is taking dictation from a tape—if you come in all full of joy in the Lord, we can't get anything done.

At this conference Larry provided elaborate explanations of the business office procedures. There were accounts of expenses and careful recording of all potential deductions. The CWLF staffer might claim a ten-cent deduction per "routine ministry mile," might deduct the cost of taking a prospective supporter to lunch (it is almost absurd to imagine anyone other than the business manager thinking in such terms or doing it), might deduct a portion of his rent appropriate to that part of his house used for ministry, etc. Staffers were urged to keep all receipts for business expenses because this is good stewardship of the Lord's money.

Even the cost of having a brother or sister to dinner might be considered. Because their "salaries" would be quite low, salaries being the support they have raised channeled through the office, they were encouraged to file the proper forms for expense reimbursements first. Since there is only a limited amount of money in their accounts payable to them anyway, the money which would come as salary is used to reimburse their expenses—thus making it tax exempt. That is scarcely manipulating the Internal Revenue Service. It is true subsistence living!

If a brother or sister wants to help another out in a tough time, he is encouraged to file the proper form for transfer of funds from his account to the other's. Of course sometimes vouchers are filed or expenses submitted for money which does not exist in the account. In this case the business office does nothing but file the forms with the person's account folder. If the money comes in, the matter is taken care of. If not, it is not. The office charges a 5 percent administrative fee for handling the funds that pass through it. This is the "cheapest in Christian circles," Larry said. Other Christian associations typically charge 20 percent and more.

There have been great efforts to get staffers to take responsibility not only for their support-raising but for money management in general. Once Barry in a flush of enthusiasm for his Hot Line prospects suggested that the Hot Line be given a taxicab credit card. Then anyone manning the phone could call a cab for the person on the other end of the line, if needed, and have him brought to Dwight House. Usually such

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people would not have cab fare. Bob squelched the suggestion immediately. "People are always too liberal with other people's money. If you want to take responsibility for sending a cab for somebody, then you take the responsibility for paying for the cab yourself."

In the midst of all this economic rationalization there remains very much in force what we shall call "economics by ordeal." Simply put, it goes: "If your support is not coming in as you think it should, the Lord must be trying to tell you something." And this is not usually a trip laid on somebody else, though it works that way too. One young woman, an outstanding street evangelist for CWLF, left Berkeley when her support fell off. She felt God was calling her elsewhere. She went to Nevada, where she also happened to have a boy friend. A few would go so far as to suggest that if *Right On* runs perpetually in the red or nearly so, the Lord may be trying to tell CWLF something. Such suggestions have a way of coming not from *Right On* staffers, but from people who may have some reservations about the new directions *Right On* is moving in. Others see such ordeals precisely as the sign of the Lord's presence. "He wants us to depend on him alone, not knowing where our next support is coming from."

I once sat an afternoon in the house of a deeply religious man who had left his job and taken his family to found a ranch near Grass Valley, California, for young Christians who might need that kind of environment. (A family from CWLF was considering moving to the ranch.) He talked wistfully of the security of his life before and then almost painfully but without bitterness of his life now. He and his family

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and all the people at the ranch prayed often, laying all their needs daily before the Lord. They never knew in the middle of the month how they would pay all their bills by the end of the month. "If just once we would get some money ahead . . . but I guess that's not the Lord's way." They did pay their bills, though. And this mentality did not keep them from moving forward either. If the ranch really needed something, some lumber for building or a used mimeograph machine for their newsletter, they took it before the Lord and their friends in the Lord. They took prayer seriously and they expected the Lord to! They kept moving forward and they ordered things, though not without much deliberation and prayer, when they thought they needed them. Such a life had not made them passive. It had left them with a deep, patient faith, profound dependency, and the wonder about what it would be like if life could or would be different.

Both this deep-grained notion of "economics by ordeal" and a real discomfort with and reaction to any extensive rationalization kept the business office from really having its way. Bryan said once, "The office has gotten a lot more like CWLF than CWLF like the office." Vouchers and forms often come in late or not at all. The free spirit in the Lord seems to prevail.

Perhaps it was constant confrontation with this unrationalized style that led Larry to suggest his famous motto of economic rationalization. He was recounting to a staff conference that he had recently met one of the brothers on the street who had asked him for some money to buy food. Larry asked what had happened to his job and the brother replied that the Lord had led him to see that he should be devoting full time to studying the Word. Larry then offered what he suggested was a good summary of what the Gospel was all about: "There ain't no free lunches." That summary was quoted more than once.

Challenge and Change, 1973

By the beginning of 1973 there had arisen a mild discontent with the direction the structure of CWLF had taken. The discontent had several sources, proceeding from infighting among the elders to a more broadly based dissatisfaction with the exercise and structure of authority.

An early key issue was economics, and it occurred with special sharpness among the elders themselves. Larry, in his elder-business manager role, exercised considerable control over funds. David, in his role ~~as~~ elder and co-editor of Right On, had been instrumental in taking that paper in a direction which Larry and Bob distinctly disapproved. (The evolution of Right On from street paper to sophisticated paper of Christian opinion is reported in Chapter V.) Economic rationalization had resulted in the rise of economic power to the top, particularly to Larry as business manager. Larry always denied this, Jack tried to avoid it, and David saw himself as in a struggle for the use of the general fund. Into this fund came gifts large and small that were not earmarked for specific ministries. At this time Right On was regularly running in the red. "When we're in trouble and go to the general fund for assistance, the only finger Larry ever lifts for us is this one" (gesture), David

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once said privately. In David's view, Larry parceled out support to ministries he was particularly in tune with, rewarding, for example, ministries more compatible with his conservative, middle-class biases. Others argued that all the elders or all the heads of ministries had control of how general funds were dispersed. Larry continued to insist, "I'm just the lowly business manager. I don't set policy and I don't control funds." (Larry did not, in the inner group, deny his feelings about Right On. Indeed, after both Larry and David had left CWLF, Larry insisted that his wife resign her position as Right On art director.) A matter which tended to affect the whole group more than the funding of Right On and which caused no little irritation toward the business office was Larry's decree that no one could use the CWLF van without his permission. Until Larry's departure in the late summer of 1973 the group struggle with the extent of economic rationalization continued between the highly legitimizing, not to mention necessary-for-survival words of Paul, "Let all things be done decently and in order" and the bitter criticism of Larry, "He made CWLF what it never was."

The economic issue helped to raise the question of how power had arisen to the top. The actions of some people began to be seen as power plays. People wondered how that could have happened, how it could be happening. In fact, significant amounts of power could adhere to certain leaders precisely because the whole question of authority was never dealt with openly. While many in the group looked to Jack for charismatic leadership and probably could not even give the names of all the elders, the increasing size of the organization and the number of staff persons and the personal ambitions of individuals and their willingness to work hard toward certain ends allowed more and more power to rise, almost unseen, to the top, to various elders.

In his study of American Baptist policy,[9] Paul Harrison has suggested a fourth kind of legitimation beyond Max Weber's three types: charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal. It is the kind of legitimation which just "happens." Harrison argued that such happenings were typical in American voluntary associations. Harrison called the unreflective legitimation for the leadership authority necessary to get the job done as voluntary associations increase in complexity "rational-pragmatic." Of course, the complexity of CWLF is not in the slightest akin to the power politics documented behind the American Baptist illusion of local autonomy. Nevertheless, as CWLF's mission began to include more ministries, as the group grew in size and complexity, as some of the influx began to include people not in any sense "babes in Christ," a kind of muddling-through leadership developed. It was a leadership of expediency, which soon was carried the farthest by those most interested in being leaders. And so increasing power came to some at the top.

Bob and Larry were making more and more important decisions about how Christian Houses should evolve, whether they should accept crashers, who in CWLF could take up residence in them. The use and control of funds, we have seen, was an issue. Who could come on staff and in what ministries was becoming a matter of elder control. How much of an opening to the left and to women's issues would become increasingly important issues. The latter, in fact, would be a key ingredient in the pressing of questions which would alter the entire structure of CWLF.

In an effort to increase collegiality among the elders and to decrease Larry's power (Bob usually voted with Larry on key issues), David proposed in the spring of 1973 a restructuring, which he privately could call a coup. Jack would be called the Director. Beneath him would be four elders. Beneath them would be ten "heads of ministries," who would have responsibility for the increasingly autonomous ministries in CWLF, such as Right On, street theater, Christian Houses, tutoring program, etc. Beneath them would be the staff of about thirty. At this time the strongest ministries were Right On and street theater. Led by David and Frank, both introduced in group three in Chapter II, they had become the most autonomous.

Actually, Bob and Jack acceded to David's proposal, perhaps seeing no threat in it. What is significant is the way this happened. In order to wrest power from the top and keep the CWLF community open for continued flexibility, spontaneity, free growth, and, one might say, a charismatic style, procedures were set in motion which in fact came closer to Weber's rational-legal legitimation. That was the route followed by those who were concerned with power and authority.

There was an alternate route to follow for those who could not place themselves fully under the authority of elders or leadership structures which conflicted with their own calls or ministries, but who had no interest in institutional power games. That was the "escape clause" route. Occasionally prayers would be prayed after a hectic meeting in which no consensus emerged but exercise of authority was attempted which would rejoice that the Christian had but one leader and that he could always go to the Father for guidance and direction. This is, partly, a New Testament belief that has served the free church tradition well. It is a belief which often comes to mean not just local autonomy but personal autonomy. An end-run to the Father avoids leadership or authority conflicts in the Christian community. In one sense this is a charismatic legitimation being exercised: one can give charismatic acknowledgment of leadership and one can take it away. If the trust is gone, if unpleasantness or strife comes too clearly into view, if trips are being handed down, the Christian can withdraw and praise the Lord for whatever he can and does accomplish in the Forever Family, looking only to God for further guidance and direction. Yet there has been remarkably little fragmentation within CWLF, a testimony to Jack Sparks' ability to hold the group together.

Between David's plan for restructuring as a way of wresting power from some of his fellow elders and the very unrationalized withdrawal of legitimation mentioned above, there began to occur in 1973 a more carefully thought out questioning of the entire structure of authority. The first impetus for this was the feeling raised in the few who became aware of the infighting among the elders. They began to look more closely at what the New Testament demanded of elders over against what these elders were producing. Having gone that far, they were not willing to accede to explanations that elder simply had become a word meaning something like senior executive. Instead, they pressed on to more pervasive questions.

The larger questioning grew particularly out of concerns and eventually challenges from a few of the women in CWLF whose consciousness was raised considerably higher than that of many of the sisters in CWLF. The issue first arose when one sister, a recent "convert" to CWLF but with a long tradition in radical activities and feminism, felt herself consistently put down within CWLF's Sunday afternoon "church group," a newly evolved worship meeting more nearly approximating a church service than the Monday evening meeting. We shall follow that story in Chapter IV. Challenging the male dominance in the church group, she came to see that such male leadership permeated CWLF. From that viewpoint, she and a small group of sisters came to question the entire authority structure as undemocratic and one which allowed the participants in CWLF too little influence over decisions that affected them.

We may note here in passing that the charismatic, new age, openendedness of the early years of CWLF might have had less difficulty with women's liberation, though, to be sure, Jack "grew" considerably on this issue in later years; and Pat and Fred probably would have had great difficulty with women's liberation. But the freedom of style was there in the early period of CWLF (1969-1971). Every calling from God was then considered possible. The small community seemed ready for anything. Of course, only a radical possibility come true will reveal how open a person really is! At the height of the Apostle Paul's battle with legalism, he opulently described the free outpouring of the Spirit into the community of the new age and drew out the radical implications of the Gospel in his famous statement: "As many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:27-28). By the time 1 Timothy is written, the New Testament message seems much less open to radical possibilities.

When it began to be clear that David's "coup" had solved nothing, the question arose among a few as to how the group could eliminate someone who was already fixed in a position of power, for example, Larry. That question had already risen now and then concerning considerably less important or influential figures. Increasing institutionalization had "set" some people in positions. But for those, a fatherly talk from Jack Sparks was usually enough. In some cases, however, the individuals themselves, such as Larry, had accelerated the very processes which set them where they were. A brother confided: "We don't know how to get rid of people." Because much authority was not clearly delegated and power was not clearly legitimated, no one knew what it would take to replace an elder.

None of this is meant to suggest that CWLF had become a highly institutionalized and oppressive structure by 1973. Even the staff was anything but lost in bureaucracy. And outside the staff there were still enough brothers and sisters in the community who seemed to while away their time in endless, aimless days. They heard the Lord telling them to leave jobs they were working at. They heard the Lord telling them to keep their schedules open and not make too many commitments in advance. They heard the Lord telling them to stay loose and not sign up for any Crucible classes. The Lord seemed to keep them busy doing apparently nothing. It was getting harder to find the hands to pass out Right On on campus, harder to find warm bodies to witness at North Beach in San Francisco, harder to get people to staple posters on telephone poles. About the discipline necessary for bureaucracy Max Weber has written:

> The content of discipline is nothing but the consistently rationalized, methodically trained and exact execution of the received order, in which all personal criticism is unconditionally suspended and the actor is unswervingly and exclusively set for carrying out the command. In addition, this conduct under orders is uniform.[10]

Weber notes further that rational discipline lessens the importance of individual action and signals the waning of charisma. It scarcely needs to be noted that in 1973 nothing could be farther from the truth about CWLF's situation than Weber's description of the discipline-style which pervades a highly rationalized organization.

We have seen the responses of David, of a few women, and of those who withdraw to the Father with respect to the development of leadership and authority in CWLF by 1973. The pressure of the situation was suddenly relieved when David, for a variety of reasons, announced that he was leaving CWLF to take a teaching position in a Bible college. The effect of his announcement was very great. Chiefly it enabled Jack to convince himself that something direct needed to be done by him about the situation in CWLF. In short, he fired Larry. The two most polarized positions were thus no longer present to the community. By the end of the summer of 1973 CWLF began to pull together to attempt

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making the changes in structure which seemed to be called for and which the departure of two powerful elders somehow made considerably easier.[11]

The challenges of early 1973 were, in one sense, never met head-on until David's resignation made some kind of symmetrical action with respect to Larry possible for Jack. The larger story is told in Chapter IV, especially the other forces that were building up on Jack to do something about the situation. Unquestionably, David's long-range plans and ambitions and the coincidence of his call to a teaching position elsewhere were very important factors "from the outside" which reduced the pressure, allowed a direct response to the situation, and enabled movements and experiments toward change to be initiated in the fall.

Notes to Chapter III

[1] Since he is well known in evangelical circles as the continuing leader of CWLF, Jack Sparks' own name will be used throughout. No other last names will be used.

[2] Already in the fall of 1969 Fred felt he had to leave Berkeley. His father had suffered a heart attack, and he went home to manage the family business. In 1975 he was living in Alaska, playing an active role in an evangelical community there which had grown out of the Jesus movement.

[3] Max Weber postulates three pure types of legitimate authority. The rational rests on a "belief in the legality of patterns of normative rules and the rights of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands." The traditional rests "on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them." The charismatic rests "on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him." See Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building, selected papers, edited and with an introduction by S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). p. 46.

[4] By 1975, precisely this dream of several Christian Houses in various neighborhoods of Berkeley becoming "house churches" for their area was coming close to reality. But 1971-72 was not yet the time.

[5] For a careful essay on Weber's concept of charisma and routinization of charisma, see S. N. Eisenstadt's introduction to Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building. This book collects all the original Weber writings on this theme.

[6] Benjamin David Zablocki, The Joyful Community (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 136.

[7] Ramparts, April 1973.

[8] Some of these are, of course, only crass commercial exploiters. They marketed Jesus bumper stickers, shorts, posters, and even wristwatches. The latter may be deliberately camp. The advertising copy reads: "Be with Jesus every minute of the day. Wear the watch on your hand of the Man who stilled the water. Only $9.95. Our Saviour's

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likeness beautifully reproduced in crimson, earth brown, sky blue, sunshine yellow, cloth black, and soft pink on a fleecy white background. Complete with ever-revolving crimson heart to tick off the minutes of the day. The most perfect gift for almost every loved one and church group. Comes with wide leatherette wrist-band. The original and only true Jesus watch in 5 colors and revolving heart. Order the race of your choice."

[9] Paul M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959).

[10] Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building, p. 28.

[11] In 1975 Jack Sparks referred to the months which immediately preceded Larry's departure as a time which nearly destroyed CWLF.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAYS OF THEIR LIVES

It is important, if one is to understand the Jesus Movement, to see the working out of the new relationship to Jesus and the Father in the day-to-day lives of Jesus people. These are not days struggled through or celebrated in isolation or determined individualism. Very little stays private. Joys and problems are shared with the brothers and sisters. The key experiences Jesus people report happen in the felt reality of the Forever Family. The collective effervescence of the new community imparts a certain glow to all the days of their new life. The Forever Family shines brighter than do all its members. When the community stages its great moments the individual is nourished and energized in ways he could not possibly effect on his own.

The Jesus people themselves live in the excitement that God is doing a new thing, that he is in these latter days raising up new believers in every corner of the earth. Jesus people enthusiastically bubble over with this intelligence and it becomes a spiritual high and a great edification when they feel discouraged. There is a self-fulfilling prophecy here. One keeps expecting to see God accomplish new things. One sees and hears and believes all the more. Such similar enthusiasms may be observed at certain peaks in any movement. The overwhelming joy in community and the excitement that God is calling people in every place into his Forever Family are even more understandable against the background of an almost cosmic manic-depressiveness sometimes evident in the youth culture.

The new community is the context within which the days of their lives are lived and a continual source of energy to those lives. In this chapter we follow some of the significant happenings in the new life together. There is an ongoing reinterpretation and restructuring of past, present, and future in light of the new experience of living in the Father's Family. There is celebration of the new life in the Family Meetings. A new life-style emphasizing experience and witness evolves. Personal struggle and growth continue. The new community finds it necessary to relate itself to other communities, to those outside.

Restructuring Life

To the group of CWLF people who gather self-consciously as part of the Forever Family, nothing about life seems the same. The new Jesus person is suddenly immersed in a new meaning system which includes the benevolent warmth of Jack Sparks, living in a Christian House (or daily visits from other brothers and sisters if one lives elsewhere), a continual religious interpretation of all that is happening, through prayer, putting one's life under a new norm through private and group Bible study, and, not least important, what Luther was willing to call another sacrament—the mutual conversations and consolations that occur in the Christian community. The Jesus person is gradually resocialized; he takes this counter-symbolic universe as his own. The agency of that transformation is benign: a Family of shared experiences and discoveries, loving and supporting words into which are sedimented all the new definitions of reality, stable, secure, accepting relationships. Every day there are new stories of remarkable deliverance, the importance of sharing in decisions, first experiences of telling someone else what has happened or is happening in one's life, the feeling that others are very interested in one's story.

The strongly affective identification with the new community is important for the resocialization process. The Jesus person has a sense of being adopted and in turn adopts. The Father and the Forever Family become the "significant other" against which reality is tested and measured. The old passes away. Outside of the new community, many a Jesus person knows from experience, the new life and salvation and love did not (will not) happen: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. "To have a conversion experience is nothing much. The real thing is to be able to keep on taking it seriously; to retain a sense of its plausibility. *This* is where the religious community comes in."[1]

Some Jesus groups, such as the Children of God, have such a radically different definition of reality that it must be maintained and protected via segregation from the inhabitants of other worlds, including parents. Physical separation is the ideal. Next is the annihilation of others by defining them out of real existence. (Cognitive dissonance is a problem for any new convert.) Christian World Liberation Front practices or seeks no segregation, although the role of the Rising Son Ranch (examined in Chapter V) during the novitiate stage may be seen as that.

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Nor is annihilation a significant mechanism. Rather there is the collective sense of having something the "world system" really needs.

Some people in CWLF, especially those we have placed in group three in Chapter II (coming to be authentic), carry the new reality inside them with sufficient strength that they do not rely on the Jesus community as their chief structure of meaning and sometime defense mechanism. The CWLF community was not the agent of any resocialization they may have undergone. Their loyalty is less with the community than with their own ministries or with larger communities they see themselves a part of.

But many are not so strong. CWLF must give much attention to mending the nets of the community, to insure that the weakest members are not lost. Some new Jesus people cannot by themselves sustain the new creation they have experienced while actively bombarded by the Berkeley counter-definitions of reality. A few may go to Rising Son Ranch (or elsewhere) for treatment of "reality slippage," just as some Roman Catholic seminarians may be sent to Rome for the same reason.[2]

The new way of viewing life comes about chiefly through the agency of language. The partners in significant conversation change radically when one enters CWLF. One's closest friends are almost always members of the same group. The daily conversations, bull sessions, devotions, prayers, and Bible studies are filled with language which has been deposited with experiences of forgiveness, acceptance, new start, peace, hope, joy, help, deliverance, healing, reconciliation with parents, new purpose, witnessing, etc. The new language reinforces the new viewpoint and encourages one to view reality from a certain perspective. Becoming a Christian means "coming to the Lord" and never "joining a church." A hospitable person becomes someone with the "gift of hospitality." Wrestling over a decision becomes "praying about it." Another member of the group is a "brother" or "sister." What shall we do becomes "what does the Lord want us to do." Being at wit's end or being totally unable to do something about a problem becomes "we're going to have to trust the Lord with that problem." Talking becomes "witnessing" or "giving testimony." Much of the furniture of reality gets new names. With the new names come new functions. A chair that is no longer called a chair comes to be used for something more or other than sitting in. Slowly all reality begins to take on new shape and the believer functions in it in new ways. "The Lord" becomes the implicit subject behind many active verbs, and the believer and all other people as well become implicit objects of the Lord's attention and activity.

The new language sounds strange when it is juxtaposed against the language that other people speak. In small groups within the fellowship conversation has the character of just having looked up for a moment in wonder at one's new status. A letter from home takes on the character of a New Testament epistle. A toothache becomes an opportunity for Christian reflection on what God may be up to. The Jesus person goes out on the streets wide-eyed, without changing signals, just having left gazing at the reality of the Forever Family. His conversation with nearly anyone can easily take up the reality where he left off. There is not a feeling of "I ought to witness to this person" but a kind of natural talking in the language "from where one is coming." That gives a jolt to the unsuspecting recipient of such conversation, sometimes making him curious, sometimes hostile, sometimes bored. Occasionally it is almost like the schizoid conversation of some mentally ill persons, with a certain "off the wall" flavor to it. In the midst of what seem to the non-Jesus person to be ordinary conversations, there suddenly are interjected the language and concerns of the religious worldview continuously swirling in the Jesus person's head. When the language occurs between a Jesus person and a non-Jesus person, it often will be disconcerting; when it occurs between Jesus people it will be continually reaffirming.

An instructive comparison is the difficulty many clergymen feel when "making calls." If they are calling on good members they can afford to be casual because they can assume a common symbolic universe. If they are calling on delinquents they are often too embarrassed to be explicit about the delinquent's apparent reality slippage from the community's symbolic universe, but at the same time are beset with doubt or guilt over the probability that their implicit conversation is nourishing any common definition of reality. They may leave frustrated or make some attempt at reality testing by moving toward God out of the conversations about weather, dogs, and the operation. Jesus people, on the other hand, with a certain fresh naiveté, rush in to any conversations with words that don't belong, i.e., words that fit their way of viewing reality and which are meaningful to them but which clearly are not shared by the partner in conversation. Yet this may not at all be the result of lack of sympathy or understanding for the other person. It may not be insensitivity, but the urge to share fresh discoveries, the impossibility of getting out of one's exciting new viewpoint. (University professors, drug enthusiasts, businessmen have just as much difficulty moving outside their definitions of reality.)

The language between Jesus people is full of their hassles and suggested approaches to their hassles. There is the wife "not in the Lord," the temper that keeps exploding in the Christian House, the temptation to return to a drug or a gay scene, the sexual desires for Christian sisters. As they talk through their new hassles, they try to sort out reality, understand it, and interpret it in the light of their new worldview. Sometimes they cannot successfully accomplish this. What may be called "symbolic universe maintenance men" (leaders, elders) are called in. They deal with deviant versions of reality or community problems that threaten the new creation. A brother returns from a hitchhiking spree up the coast and reports on rival Jesus groups where he found great love but bizarre teachings. He wants an explanation. A small group that visited the non-Christian "One World Family" on Telegraph Avenue is perplexed at the great peace and harmony they found there. The Lord's failure to answer a year's worth of communal prayer for the wandering husband of a devout sister needs explanation.

Like other people, Jesus people may find maintenance of their symbolic universe less difficult if they are less involved with rival systems, with the sub-universes of a pluralistic society. Yet there are Jesus people who seek involvement, commitments, and apologetics. They learn to survive on the outside. Some have become sophisticated enough to recognize the liberal's challenge to a radical, the comfortable's put-down of the challenger, the realist's negation of the visionary, the establishment's impatience with the prophet. To those who say "When will you people grow up and relate to the church?" they have learned to say "We are the Church." To those who say "What about society?" they have learned to say "New people will make new societies."

When the community is successfully redefining reality, everything conceivable now looks different. There is a certain rush to look at more and more things to see how they will appear. It is like children with new magnifying glasses searching out new objects and surfaces to inspect, or astronauts looking back at the world for the first time. Sometimes it is dizzying, and young brothers and sisters may laugh out loud or giggle with happiness. The simplest fact related, picking up a hitchhiker, looking at a rock, saying a word to someone on the steps of Sproul Plaza—each takes on excitement and Olympian meaning. The sharing of such excitement, the swapping of discoveries is not unlike that which goes on in the drug culture.

Meanwhile, this rewriting of history, bending of values, and withdrawal of allegiance from the old does not go without challenge from others. Within the Christian community, liberals and fundamentalists, campus pastors and Campus Crusade, may find it necessary to engage in reality correction. In the Jewish community, Rabbinic maintenance men are called to make house calls on young people slipping into Christian reality definitions. In the larger society deprogramming activities may be used by those who will not tolerate alternate symbolic universes.

In the Church such issues are handled with greater subtlety—integration, accommodation, co-optation, merger, disacknowledgment, or liquidation via the politics of doctrine.[3]

But the exciting confirmations of the new reality go on among the Jesus people. A Jesus person returns from a visit to a nearby junior college delighted to report how many Christians he found. Another turns to witness to a hitchhiker and discovers she was about to be witnessed to. A sister goes with a friend who wants to witness to his friends and discovers next door a woman she used to clean house for. She cleans and witnesses for free the rest of the day. Visitors from out of town are especially welcome because they are always full of new stories of what the Lord is doing elsewhere. A quaint phrase has emerged: "God is a spiritual arsonist. He's setting fires all over." Gifted people in the new community are elevated unnaturally. A local Jew for Jesus becomes a great Old Testament scholar. A seminary graduate is a master theologian.

It is possible that a continual outpouring of high experiences will lead to overly selected definitions of reality. How much one-sided socialization may arise from a steady stream of exuberance? Will one feel a social pressure against bringing up disappointments, failures, and doubts? The celebration of the new life sometimes descends to the planned contagion of a Fuller Brush sales meeting or the psychological techniques of Reverend Ike.[4] When my family and I went to a Memorial Day Jesus celebration in 1972, we found ourselves looking over our shoulders before we would risk hollering at the children. The air was so filled with praise the Lord and thank you Jesus it was positively oppressive.

Nevertheless, there will always be sufficient problems emerging in the community to weather the triumphalism which seems to go along with a movement's early stage. One can observe in the Jesus movement much of the charismatic excitement and drive of the early church and also all the false starts down through Christian history by people in the first flush of faith. The new life in Christ is celebrated; the darker sides of consciousness, temporarily disregarded, emerge eventually.

Family Celebration

The celebration of the new reality in the Father's Forever Family happens most conspicuously every Saturday evening. (The apparent decline of this meeting in 1973 may indicate the early charisma had moved elsewhere, that maturing Christians were finding other occasions and means of growth and celebration, or that the whole nature of CWLF had changed decisively from a Family to a coalition of ministries.) For several years this meeting has been the high point of the Family's coming together. There are other activities more specifically nourishing or study-oriented or business-oriented, but this is the time for the whole community, for visitors passing through Berkeley, for people interested in becoming Christians or interested in CWLF. The tradition of this meeting, held in the large living room of Dwight House, goes back to the first months of CWLF's existence. The meeting was held on Monday for about three years and after a brief lapse was resumed on Saturdays.

Coming up the steps of the large house at 2736 Dwight Way you faintly hear singing and clapping. There may be no porch light on. If there is a light, you can see a peeling porch ceiling and several old and dirty overstuffed couches setting on the porch, with an occasional dog asleep on one of them. There is nothing immediately to indicate that an ecstatic experience is waiting. You open the door. If it is a good night the living room is packed with people, mostly sitting and lying on the floor or sitting on old couches against the walls, and the crowd has spilled over into the adjoining dining room and into the hall. As you step over the bodies in the hall you hear singing, you see happy faces turned up to you, some positively angelic, and you experience a rush of warmth. Something extraordinary is happening here, and these people all seem to be sharing a secret which unites them in contagious joy and opens up their eyes and mouths in excitement.

If the celebration began at about 7:30 p.m. the music may go on for about thirty or forty-five minutes. It is hard to say who decides how much is enough. Although there is a piano in the corner of the living room, it is almost never used. Always someone brings a guitar and there may be several. One guitar case says "Getting hooked on Jesus." Sometimes song sheets are used, but many seem to know all the words. There are songs from the Jesus movement and old songs from the evangelical Protestant tradition. The singing is mellow, but not usually shouted. There is no suggestion that the Lord would pay more attention if the roof were raised. You notice a couple of changes in a well-known song, "They'll Know We Are Christians by Our Love." Instead of "we'll guard each man's dignity and save each man's pride" you hear "and crucify our pride." Sometimes the chorus is changed to "They'll know we are Christians by His love." Often the One Way sign goes up on the last verse, as if a liturgical congregation were rising for the final doxological stanza.

One of the favorite action songs is "Silver and Gold Have I None." It is a song about Peter's healing of the lame beggar at the gate of the temple. At the words "stand up and walk," everyone jumps up and later continues "walking and leaping and praising God." At such times the Family's songs sound and look like fraternity songs. They express the happy togetherness and spirit of the group. The words of other songs speak of joy, new birth, Christian trials and hassles, the need to keep turning to the Father, the invitation to look into Jesus, the return of Christ, the need to accept Jesus now, the teaching of Jesus, etc. There may be a brother or sister with a new song just written, and the Family is always glad to listen and join in the chorus. Someone will raise a hand and say, often shyly, "I've just written a love ballad for people who don't know Jesus or what he's like." Some phrases from the song are: "what holds me together when I feel like falling apart; his love surrounded my heart and set me free; living each day without Jesus is not really living at all; how can you say no one cares; it's not really hard to find the joy and peace you looked for all your life; he loves you and wants to set you completely free; how do I know that it's true and why am I telling you; he set me free." The songs speak out of deep experiences of Jesus as a Friend and confidant, of God as the Father and Helper, of the desperate need of all to turn to the Lord, of all the trips people go on in search of something beyond themselves. They speak of great joy following searching and loss and despair.

Very rarely in CWLF someone may suggest getting up and dancing to the music. One male volunteered, typically to those who knew him, after one sister suggested it. Five sisters and one brother, mostly separately, went through a quick little happy, and slightly embarrassed, dance and just as quickly sat down.

During the singing you look at the people in the Family. They look like they are all singing their life stories, personal statements about their own history. There is always movement and always sights to gladden your eyes or arouse your curiosity. A Puerto Rican brother wears a green shirt with the entire back richly and colorfully embroidered with a picture of Jesus and the words "Wanted Jesus." You notice one brother come in, sink to a couch in the dining room, fall fast asleep, and remain there through the entire meeting. Another shirt catches your eye: "I'm Another Jesus Freak." The sisters have typical youth culture dress, but it is almost always modest. Long dresses or pants and full tops, sandals, boots, or bare feet. Sometimes skirts.

The leader, often one of the CWLF elders, may greet brothers and sisters the Family has not seen for awhile, or recognize visitors. He may on the spur of the moment point out "beautiful brothers and sisters" he especially praises the Lord for. There are always people passing through. "Here is Marla from Germany, a graduate of the Paris Bible School. We met her at Mardi Gras." Another time there is a smartly dressed woman and her absolutely stunning daughter. They are from Nebraska, but originally from Eastern Europe. They are looking for a good college, "and it must have Christian fellowship," the daughter adds.

"My country is not free. I lived under Communism one year and then came to the United States. We have a Christian group going back home every Monday. I've been a Christian eighteen years and the last six have been really great." Everyone greets the mother's words with respect and thanksgiving, and the daughter smiles radiantly.

A visiting sister says she has spent a summer in Marseilles with a Christian radio ministry and correspondence courses to North Africa. She is very excited about it and describes witnessing to children on the streets. There are two brothers from the Lighthouse Ranch in Northern California down to visit a sick brother in a San Francisco hospital. An older woman from Minneapolis describes how a Christian House just like this started there a year ago. She asks for prayer. She says she read about CWLF in Billy Graham's "Decision Magazine." "I'm here with my dauther and son-in-law. Pray for them. Especially for my son-in-law. He's a Jewish boy. Still blinded."

An old man who comes often tells how much his church disappoints him. It's not like Jesus People. "The churches are hung up on tribal mythology and dogmas derived from flyspecks on ancient Greek manuscripts." Everyone chuckles. He probably read that somewhere and saved it for the occasion. He wanted to help some people whose roof was leaking, so he deducted the cost from his church pledge. "The churches should help people more."

You learn to recognize some brothers and sisters who look and act older. They seem more informed, their "wows" and "reallys" are moderated, and they have had more experience in witnessing. There are also others, marginal personalities, who come with "schizy" smiles or wrapped up in themselves, and find love and acceptance and people who will listen to them. Their comments and their prayers show where they are, and the Family responds with love and good humor. One woman wears bright red lipstick, every conceivable Jesus button on her coat and blouse, and occasionally what looks like a smashed tambourine around her neck. She describes being removed from a posh San Francisco hotel for witnessing in the lobby. "But the Lord held them back until I was finished."

Mostly the crowd, which varies from forty to seventy, are young, perhaps from eighteen to twenty-five. A few leaders are older. There are few teeny-boppers. There are university students, CWLF staff members, street people, and people working or existing in Berkeley.

The mood is relaxed from the very first song. After the singing is over or gradually quiets down, some kind of Bible study may begin. There is rarely any preaching. Jack's comments sometimes come close to it and David's Bible studies are more formal than most. Usually the leader announces a portion of the Word to get into tonight, the brothers and sisters open the Bibles they have brought, and whoever feels moves begins reading, one after another. Romans is a favorite book. The leader may make some opening remarks and then open it up for the group's response. It is never long in coming. "This last week the Lord really showed me what verse fifteen means." Almost always someone's comment will enlighten someone else and a whole series of remarks may continue, each one picking up the "tag line" of the previous speaker. It is remarkable that if the group is allowed to talk long enough, a myriad of facets of the Word are brought to light. It is an interesting experience for a preacher who finds the group comes up with nearly everything he has thought of in hours of preparation for a sermon and a good deal more, all rooted in personal experience.

Sidetracks and tangents are not unusual. Someone comes to announce at the first opportunity that the expanded European Common Market is the fulfillment of the ten nations prophecy in Daniel. He has a newspaper story which he reads to the group. Another recalls Israel's Six Day War, a favorite among those evangelicals who specialize in apocalyptic and says, "Keep your eyes on Palestine." Things are rolling. Someone else describes the trouble he's having in junior college getting his teacher to listen to his witness, despite all his papers being written from a Christian point of view.

Throughout the Bible study some sisters may sit embroidering and a few may stand in the hall talking. Unfortunately the toilet is also in the hall and the meeting is often punctuated with loud flushes. There is no bashfulness about this. Once in a very small Family meeting a sister jumped up, shouted "Wait a minute I gotta go to the john" and ran out of the room.

Participants may be shy or bold, and the Family responds appropriately. A shy young woman says, "Can I say something?" The leader nods. "Does this apply to a woman not speaking in God's meeting house?" The leader says, "Go ahead." There is a long pause. "I had something to say before, but I didn't say it then." Sympathetically the leader says, "Do you want to say it now?" Pause. "I forgot." "Well, if you remember it later, you can say it then."

A Puerto Rican brother launches into a long meandering message which is doubly difficult to understand because of his accent. Finally, a brother who lives at Dwight House with him interrupts, "Are you finished?" "No, I got more," he says undaunted. "I was wondering if you could cut it short. It's getting late." Another brother comes in: "Suppose the Spirit of the Lord is speaking to him. Why cut it short?"

One Bible study is on 1 Peter. The leader asks what kinds of trials people are having. Within a few minutes come discord in the family, ego trips, demanding parents, two flat tires on the Bay Bridge at the same time, demanding children, falling in love every five minutes with every Christian sister.

Questions raised often have little to do with the Bible study. A brother mentions a problem from his American literature class. A brother near him tries to explain. There is much buzzing in the room. Then giggling, then laughter. The leader says, "Let them do this later. Why don't we get back to 1 Peter?" The brother's face turns red and some sisters laugh. "I'm always getting hassled by these two sisters. The Lord must be trying to keep me humble." "Praise the Lord," the group shouts. "It's a good thing I don't get embarrassed easy or I'd been out the door long ago."

A middle-aged man who has sight and speech problems and some paralysis and who is a fixture in the group says, "Yesterday I walked without support for the first time in fifteen years. I used to ride the bus and praise the Lord and now I walked four miles on foot, praising the Lord." Someone adds, "Your speech is improving, too."

Someone shares an insight from another Bible passage he has run across. Another shouts, "Where did you get that?" "Here in Paul, in Corinthians." "Wow, that's really beautiful. Really good to know. That really helps me." Someone may share something great that has happened. His eyes light up, he smiles broadly, and begins, "It's just beautiful the way the Lord . . . ."

The interaction is that of a close family gathered around the supper table after a long day apart. They all share what has happened to them today. The Family "ah's" in approval and interest. Some members of the Family may keep more things to themselves, but sharing says you really are in the Family. The participant-observer may not gain ultimate acceptance as a Family member if he does not join in this sharing. The scene may appear trivial or immature to an outsider. But in a family people come home to share their oneness with each other, to make sense of the things they have experienced that day, to seek some kind of fusion. It is no small thing for the person and the Family and their life in the world that their experiences and values and goals should all come together at this time. Alienated youth is the setting against which this Family lives out its life. There is no necessity to reenter the system. One just keeps coming home to the Family.

Is such a family a womb? What does Forever Family mean? Presumably it means a FOREVER Family. God calls his people into it and it continues throughout eternity. It may also be a kind of Forever FAMILY. One never really leaves home after finding it. Life begins and ends around the common table and never strays far from it. This is not true for many in CWLF and decidedly is not true for those more personally mature or theologically sophisticated. For some, though, this Family is the only family there is and without it they could scarcely keep going in the world. With it they lead meaningful and relatively healthy lives.

One brother, Joey, represents a kind of deviant relation to the Family. He is welcomed with love and good humor, but he does not evidence the more common understanding of being in the Father's Forever Family. Someone mentions that Moses once killed a man. "When did Moses kill a man? I didn't see that" (in the movie). "There's no killing in the New Testament. God wants us to go out and love. I don't know why God did that in the Old Testament." Joey is a kind of happy clown who goes about in his pith helmet doing good in his own way. He throws parties for the children of Berkeley at Hallowe'en and hands out toys at Christmas time. Once he came and announced he had three tickets, each worth $100, for one of his benefits. "I'm going to start praying and see who the Lord leads, whoever he will, to come and take a ticket and give $100. You don't have to pay right now." Bryan says gently but firmly, "You remember what we said earlier, Joey, about not putting our agenda on God. Let's always wait and see what he wants." Joey is equally gentle and firm: "No, in this case I know. The Lord told me to do this." There is a sigh in the Family. The Lord does not lead anyone to redeem the tickets.

After the Bible study period the leader may share any news he has for the Family. He announces a wedding within the Family and invites everyone, urging them to bring cake and cookies for the reception. Jack may share letters he has received. A brother who left in a huff in the early days is now happily married and living in the Lord. Another brother is learning a printing trade in order to go to Europe and give his time to Christians there. Another brother is "into one of his well-known depressions." A sister reads from a letter she received from Lebanon. "We should really pray for my sister there. The Moslems are doing a lot of persecuting for passing out tracts about Jesus. I just really rejoice for the work this sister is doing." There is often news about Family members traveling around the country. When Jack and others were in New Orleans for the Mardi Gras there was tremendous excitement in the group when he wrote that many were embracing him on the street. There were immediate prayers for them, "especially for strength in the last hectic thirty hours of Mardi Gras."

Before the time for prayer begins the leader may ask someone for a hat and pass it around. "The only rule is to put some money in if you have it to spare and take some out if you need it. Only don't rip the whole hat off." A sharp-eyed observer will notice that one brother in particular always seems to take a good deal out. Once the hat passes him full of change and he dips in; later it passes him again with some bills, and he dips in again. It is easy to tell when many new brothers and sisters are among the group. The hat will stop as soon as the prayers begin. Occasionally, the leader says the hat is being passed for a particular person who needs help.

The time for prayer lasts thirty or more minutes, and gives time to all who wish to make prayer requests and to the group to pray about whatever is on its mind. Most are very open at this time, asking prayers for heavy personal problems, but also for less profound but apparently important difficulties. Sometimes prayers are requested for members of the Family not present who are having personal problems, especially marital. This does not seem to be done in a spirit of gossip or self-righteousness. Some prayers are without much effect, some plaintive and others sobbing pleas.

> "For a brother in Oakland, who runs a half-way house for convicts. He needs food, too."
>
> "For my two brothers, separated from their wives."
>
> "For my father, who will soon undergo surgery. Mostly to heal him spiritually, Lord. Make him a brother. That's a thousand times more important."
>
> "For psychiatrists . . . [there is some dissent]. OK, let them realize they don't have the total answer."
>
> "For my parents. Save them from their intellectual trips. I plead your holy blood, reach them. They won't listen to their own flesh."
>
> "Open up more opportunities where I'm working."
>
> "For a guy named Harold, soften his heart."
>
> "Give us boldness as we go to speak to a sociology class. We expect to see fruit right there in the classroom."
>
> "For my ex-wife. Soften her heart."
>
> "For all the brothers and sisters."
>
> "For all those traveling."

"For my grandmother. I received a note from her today. I'm so worried about her. For all parents who need to know how much we love them."

"For my friend, Lord. I din't have any idea how or what to do. You'll have to begin it."

"For my husband, Lord. He's into drugs more than ever and I just can't reach him. I don't know how much longer I can hold on." This sobbing prayer is received with many supportive "Yes, Lords."

"Lord, I've got terrible warts on both feet and my teeth need fixing. Let me be able to get both taken care of at the same time."

"For a minister in town. He's angry because I said I didn't think he was a Christian. Help us get together."

"For CWLF and all the hassles that are tearing us apart. Help us pull together."

No little humor is often part of the discussion in the Bible study, and often extends to the prayer time as well.

"Keep us humble in our coming [football] victory over Campus Crusade, Lord."

"Lord, you own the cattle on a thousand hills but give it to us one hamburger at a time. Keep us patient and trusting."

"Find housing for Mike and his family who need it so desperately, Lord . . . within four blocks of campus, Lord."

The meaning of the Family's life together is most clear at prayer time. Brothers and sisters pick up each other's requests and carry them to God on behalf of the Family. Often after the meeting is over, the problems and joys raised in the prayer time will be taken up again in small pockets of concerned conversation.

Now and then a brother or sister is beckoned to the center of the room. Once a brother had prayed, "I've got worms under my skin. They just keep eating away." Seven brothers (no sisters) laid hands on him, praying variously, and the last one said, "In the name of Jesus, rise up and walk." When a brother named Leo was leaving Berkeley, some of the brothers called him up to pray for him. He didn't want to come up. They insisted. He requested prayers for his car Simon, too. He was sent off with many hands laid on him.

When Sherry, a Jewish Christian, was about to return East for her sister's wedding, Jack called her up and talked about how she had first come to the Lord in this Family, how they had all grown to love her and she them, and how they would be praying for her as she went back to her family. She said she knew great things were going to happen when she returned home. The Lord had been promising her. This was her first time home since becoming a Christian. Jack gave her a present—a book of Messianic prophecies and a bundle of tracts produced by Jews for Jesus.

Almost all prayers use the word Father in every sentence, and sometimes at the end of every phrase. There is a curious constant use of the word "just" as well. "Father, we just pray for Mary, Father. We trust you to stay with her, Father, and we just know, Father, that we can count on you, Father." It is the language of close, constant, heartfelt reliance on a loving God you can depend on, one you can risk giving yourself up to, a friend who will not fail to help. Perhaps the almost studied informality and intimacy of the overused "just" is by way of contrast with formalized Church prayers.

About once every two months, it seems almost by afterthought, the Family will close its meeting with Communion. Jack will take a half-gallon of Spiñada down from the fireplace mantel and a round of sourdough bread and say, "Let's break bread and drink some wine together tonight." He chooses three brothers to say words over the bread and three to say words over the wine. He may immediately see five brothers to appoint and then say, "Lord, give us one more." The Lord never gives a sister. Depending on the brothers' inspiration, these may be quite short words, perhaps a Bible verse or two, or rather long and windy statements relating Communion and the Family. Not uncommonly one hears "not a ritual," "just a symbol," etc., but occasionally body and blood are mentioned as well. After the words are spoken, the bread is broken in several large pieces and passed in various directions around the room. Usually everyone waits until all have a piece of bread. Jack says a final word, and all eat together.

As the brothers speak the words over the wine (grapejuice is never used), the wine is poured into small paper cups which are passed throughout the room. The bottle itself is never passed. Jack says another word, and all drink. This is the end of the meeting. It is a solemn time, but not richly sacramental. The tone is set somewhat by whatever Eucharistic theology, if any, the brothers who speak the words over bread and wine have. Occasionally there is almost a Lutheran or an Episcopalian consciousness, but most often an anemic evangelicalism with a bloodless sacrament. Nevertheless, this is the only time that Jack appears nervous, older, and almost uptight.

Although the Family is more solemn at this time than at any other (there is no flushing of toilets or chatting in the hall), some bring with them their constant casualness. Once a fresh-from-the-farm-looking brother at the edge of the room holds up a large remaining hunk of sourdough bread to catch Jack's eye and motions as if to throw it to him—this while three brothers are beginning their words over the wine. Jack looks up and cringes. The brother motions again as if to throw. David looks up, shakes his head vigorously, and looks back down in prayer. The "farmer" sighs and lays the bread down.

The meeting often closes with a final song, usually "Holy, Holy, Holy," a popular song among Jesus People, but not the song by that name in most Protestant hymnals. The brothers and sisters stand, lock arms around each other in a large circle, and sway with the music as they sing softly. This is the final moment of unity and togetherness. The Family acts out its feelings about itself. After the song Jack says, "Greet the brothers and sisters with a holy kiss. . . . Keep it holy!"

Many stay for an hour or more, moving around the room greeting friends, sometimes inquiring further into troubles or joys mentioned at prayer time. There is no sense that this is a less spiritual time. It is the Family continuing to be itself. There may be a personal ministry out in the dining area by one of the older brothers or sisters to some distraught person who has come to the meeting, perhaps coming down off drugs or needing a place to crash for the night.

In the spring of 1973 the Family Meeting began to come upon hard times. Fewer and fewer CWLF staff members attended. Two elders have never attended. There is talk of this in staff meetings. "It's at an all-time low. The singing is terrible. You should hear them sing at Resurrection City." "It's not so bad. There may be a lot of nourishing going on. The young Christians seem to enjoy it." "There should be more leadership and more structure. There's too much drivel. Everybody comes with an individualistic attitude, wanting to get his two cents in. It's almost a competition." "There's no body [community] sense. We must have oneness, a common ground." "Maybe we're just critical old hats. We should just go and praise the Lord the way most people seem to be doing. If they enjoy it why should we carp about it?" The Family Meeting has not approached its former highs. Nevertheless, there remain brothers and sisters spilling out onto the porch after the meeting with "Wow, I see it all now like I never did before. It's really great. Praise the Lord." There are others who have gone elsewhere, to Resurrection City, or to a group calling itself "the Local Church," seeking new excitement and more charisma.

Life-Style

People in and around CWLF talk often about their Christian Walk and self-consciously attend to the development of a Christian life-style. That life-style seems a curious blend of theology, good humor, naiveté, prayer, and the counterculture.

The Lord Wants Me To Do It

A sister says only a Christian or a nut could stand to work at Kopy Kat, a Berkeley xeroxing service. She expresses increasing dissatisfaction with her job. One day she announces that the Lord led her to get fired. Later she tries selling jewelry on the streets three days a week and for a time makes more money than she did at Kopy Kat. "Praise the

Lord for his leading."

The steering committee of Crucible (a ministry discussed in Chapter V) is coming to the end of a long discussion on the possiblity of some kind of public dialogue with representatives of the American Humanist Association. No one has been able to propose a format that seems to fit. No one seems interested in taking responsibility for carrying through the planning necessary. Everyone is getting tired of the whole discussion. Someone says, "Apparently the Lord is not leading us in this direction at this time."

The editors of Right On are describing to a Heads of Ministry meeting Right On's financial difficulties. These difficulties seem to be constant in the last year or two, and they happen to be occurring at a time when Right On is evolving into a more sophisticated paper and less obviously written with the "streets" in mind. One brother who disapproves of the direction the paper is taking suggests, "Perhaps the Lord is trying to tell us something."

A brother who had spent a lot of time on the streets prior to becoming a Christian finally allows CWLF to find him a job. He works at it for a few weeks. After that he comes to one of the elders asking for some money and food to support him. He announces that the Lord has led him to give his full time to studying the Word and that this required leaving his job.

Susan relates to the community the difficulties she is having with her sexual identity and tells of her continual temptations to gay relationships. The community sees this as evidence that the Lord is leading CWLF to begin dealing with these issues. Eventually a ministry to people with such problems emerges.

Experience is often unexamined. It is taken at face value. Whatever comes along receives the status of important experience. Unbalanced by reflective intellect a cult of experience seems to lead some Jesus People to naiveté, gullibility, and contradiction. When things go right the Lord is leading. When things go wrong the devil is interfering. For some, surrendering the mind to experience is not an act of homage but of desperation.

The most phenomenal evidence of unexamined experience is the ease with which Jesus People allow themselves to believe that "I want to" equals "the Lord is leading me to." This means that often insufficient responsibility is taken for actions already under way, and insufficient responsibility is taken to initiate action. One has to wait on the Lord. If he does not move, it is he that has done it and not we ourselves. Personal agony of decision and ambiguity about life and self sometimes get replaced by a calm confidence that the Lord is doing all the leading. Where this is a refreshing trust in the Lord leading to great feats of accomplishment and where it is clever rationalization overlaid with theological legitimation is the question. Classical Christian doctrine has often tended to attribute accomplishments to God and failures to people. Some Jesus People have succeeded in erasing the ambiguity in the "cooperation between God and man" and consigning everything to Providence. Whether this will be a source of great power in Christian living or an excuse for self-indulgence seems to depend on the maturity, spirituality, and self-honesty of the individual.

Holism and the Christian Optometrist

A brother in CWLF's Richmond House asked in a staff meeting once if anyone knew of a Christian optometrist. One might assume that he thought if he were going to spend good money, a Christian might as well receive it. He continued, however: "I've been having trouble with my eyes again after several years without problems. I thought a Christian optometrist could tell if it's an eye problem or a personal hassle."

The brother is a true believer. He has experienced that all things fit together, that there is one whole, and he simply acts on this intelligence. The way the world looks is a function of more than the condition of his optic nerve or the shape of his eyeball. Of what use is an optometrist with single vision? Since the Jesus person has experienced Jesus as taking over his whole life, he is committed to seeing everything from a new point of view. He is rejecting "single vision and Newton's sleep," in the words of William Blake. To some that may sound magical. The brother wants a shaman more than an optometrist. Yet many a therapy group flourishing today would instantly understand what he meant. The evangelical mind-set, at its most naive and least rationalized and acculturated, would fully concur. And Theodore Roszak has suggested that magic is a form of experience, a way of addressing the world when one has a more holistic consciousness.[5]

Such a consciousness expects everything to come from the Lord and continually finds such expectations satisfied. A brother from Denver attending CWLF's Radical Street Christianity Workshop described how the Lord helped them open a Christian mission there and even led them to just the right decor, the color on the walls and everything. Not a few Jesus musicians relate at the beginning of a song how God just gave it to them. "It's not really my song at all."

Another brother at the Workshop suggested that if one is not a good speaker and is frightened by crowds, that makes him all the better a teacher. "The Holy Spirit will just take hold and flow through him. If he speaks naturally he may get in the way of the Lord." The person went on to say he would be doing some teaching, but he, of course, did not know that yet. The Lord hadn't given it to him. Such talk rarely goes without some "correction." Another brother related his discussion "with a Krishna who really knew his stuff. I relied on the Spirit but just barely succeeded in defending myself. I can really see the necessity of Bible study and good preparation."

Prayer

The ever-present prayer of Jesus People is an expression of their experience of the constant presence of God. When Billy Graham said he knew God was alive because he had just talked to him that morning, liberal Protestants laughed with scorn or embarrassment, secularists ridiculed, and Jesus People smiled knowingly. It is impossible to overestimate the role that prayer plays. Like blues music it seems to bring to verbal (and cultural) expression inner thoughts, hassles not normally discussed or admitted. As a group meets in prayer, the inner consciousness of each person is, as it were, projected on a screen for everyone to see. Such prayer occasionally sounds like the group confessions reported in prisoner-of-war camps or in some monastic communities or encounter sessions. Yet this prayer draws the community closer together, not apart. It all seems to be done in the Lord and in the context of his love and presence in the Forever Family. Such prayer is a kind of "consciousness rake" for the individual and the group. It brings to communal attention and consciousness the problems of people in the group and what the Lord may be doing to overcome them.

The community simply takes prayer with utter seriousness. When it was reported in a staff meeting that a sister's marriage was in trouble and her non-Christian husband was back on drugs, someone suggested round-the-clock prayer for him. A sign-up sheet was passed around with fifteen-minute intervals on it. Then a staff member suggested not to make this prayer card public, since it might not look good if the person in question discovered his name on it and that prayers were widely solicited for his lapse. That suggestion says more about the increasing sophistication of CWLF than about the prayer life of most of the Jesus movement.

In the first year of CWLF's history a local radical suggested he would become a Christian when a million Christians prayed for him. Jack Sparks put that comment in Right On. Letters poured in to Right On and to the individual in question from around the country, assuring him of prayer.

Jesus People are sensitive to the prayer needs of others because they feel so dependent on prayer themselves. When it was announced that an elder would be teaching a course on Satan, several immediately suggested extra prayer for him. "Satan doesn't like us getting out the truth on him." When Jack Sparks and several others left on a two-month tour of colleges and seminaries people suggested that his itinerary be placed conspicuously in everyone's home to remind them daily of where the group was and what kind of prayers they would be needing.

Prayers are a good indication of the location of the individual's consciousness. Once Larry, the elder who lives in a fine house in the hills, sent a prayer request to a staff meeting for the eucalyptus trees in the Berkeley-Oakland hills. The news media had been describing the severe winter frost that had probably killed many of the trees and the expectation of a tremendous fire hazard when summer came. "We better start praying now," Larry's note urged. A brother once announced to the group that he wanted to praise the Lord in prayer for letting him talk to his brother in Germany. "What's neat is the Lord giving me some bread so I could make the call."

The Street Culture Remains

Certain aspects of the CWLF life-style may have more to do with the street culture than being in the Lord. There is no such thing as an early CWLF appointment, Elizabeth once complained. Jack occasionally complains to staff conferences: "I can't understand why people must always arrive one and two hours late." When CWLF goes on a mission to leaflet a rally or march, there are not a few brothers and sisters who cannot muster the energy to keep passing out the literature. They pass out a few and then spend the day watching. Political radicals have the same experience. Sweet Pea, a brother from the Richmond House, hatches a plan for a five-year world tour. "I figure I can get free to Australia by island-hopping from Alaska. But the Lord may be keeping me from it. Nothing is turning up yet." When CWLF houses began to use the services of the Food Conspiracy, the brother in charge was continually confronted with irresponsibility, work left unshared, and rotting vegetables. Christian houses are capable of being dirty, sloppy, and full of petty hassles. When the Sunday afternoon meeting was organized as a potluck, there was a disconcerting number of people who could not remember to bring food to share.

Working

Typical days for people in and around CWLF are not at all similar. Some are filled with great energy, steady work, and much fruit produced. Others are filled with dreams and excuses and endless plans, busy with nothing.

One brother keeps busy reading, writing, visiting friends, and puttering about his house. Another works two full days and three half-days at the office, goes to school part-time, spends Saturdays on study, housework, and relaxation, and takes Sunday for fellowship and relaxation.

One brother, who has never had a job in his life, has CWLF find him a position driving truck six days a week. He makes money for the first time and cannot adjust to his new image of himself. Nor can his wife, who discovers his latent machismo blossoming into an intolerable burden for her. A delegation from Dwight House goes to pick melons in a field fifty miles from Berkeley. After the Saturday Night Meeting, the whole Family unloads them onto the porch, two lines of melon passers and much shouting, throwing, and dropping. The CWLF community eats many, sells a few, and gives some away.

David has a hectic schedule co-editing Right On, soliciting contributions and support, energizing Crucible, attending elders' and staff meetings, and staying active in his own church. Street theater may take up to six hours a day for those who participate in it. People in leadership positions seem to run constantly. Meanwhile, back at the Christian houses and in various other locations are a few brothers and sisters who seem to want nothing more than to relax in the Lord, do their things, socialize.

There are many small and necessary jobs. Joyce has to miss church to drive a new brother picked up on North Beach in San Francisco to the bus station. She is to put him on a bus to Rising Son Ranch. Joyce says, "I need feeding, too. He'll probably just split, I thought. I bought him a ticket, turned around, and couldn't see him, then there he was at my elbow smiling. He talked and talked, wow, he was really saved, telling me what salvation means, just great. Then I gave him some money for food and cigarettes on the way and put him on the bus." One or two people may be busy with advance planning—for a coming Jesus Festival or appearance at political conventions or a speaking tour.

Witnessing—It Helps To Say I Love You

Jesus People may see their whole life as a witness to the new life they have found in the Father's Family. Especially in the early days it would not have occurred to brothers and sisters to make distinctions between witnessing and other activities or to see some kinds of activities as more sophisticated witnessing than others, or to speak of apologetics instead of witnessing. Right On has grown increasingly sophisticated in its witness. Some in the Jesus movement would not be able to recognize what it does as witnessing. Street Theater does many shows with no mention of Christ or God. Some brothers and sisters no longer consider leafleting crowds and rallies a meaningful witness.

Yet few do not see the way they live their lives, their conversations, and their attitudes a witness to all those around them. People witness in ways that seem natural to them, not usually out of guilt or a sense of "ought." A sister gets a job selling jewelry and immediately begins to talk about Jesus to the man who makes the jewelry. He keeps insisting he is not interested. Another sister says she is scarcely ever with anyone more than ten minutes without mentioning what the Lord has done in her life. A brother says he loves to talk to people who are not Christians. "It's not preaching. I just like to bring people around to taking a look at Christ." Another brother visits his brother in Southern California. After his brother turns him off every time he talks about Jesus he leaves some literature with some "right on neighbors" he has met. They promise to share the literature when the time seems right. A sister works on her parents for years, and finally gets her mother to come to a Bible class with her, but nothing really changes. A Jew for Jesus is arrested passing out literature at the San Francisco airport and takes the case to court. CWLF is often invited to speak to sociology classes in colleges in the Bay Area. The class and teacher see the Jesus movement as an interesting zoological exhibit and CWLF sees the class and teacher as people who need to hear about the Lord. Someone in a meeting before they leave prays to see fruit right in the classroom. Jack suggests at a Saturday Night Meeting, "Rely more on the Spirit when you witness and not on your powers of persuasion. It helps to say I love you." A delegation from CWLF goes to the San Francisco showing of Jesus Christ Superstar not to picket but to hand out leaflets telling more about Jesus to those who may already be interested. Most in CWLF are convinced that personal interaction is the only valuable witness at mass rallies or in crowds. Given the choice between marching in circles at North Beach chanting "LOVE NOT LUST" or interacting with individual people, they usually choose the latter.

There is a kind of chain of witnessing that runs through the Family. Not a few brothers and sisters can point to someone else in the Family who told them about Jesus. There are many Biblical Andrews bringing their brother Peter to the Lord.[6]

Not all witnessing comes easy. Bob, the elder in charge of campus ministry, says he is terrified of the campus, "but the Lord gives me the strength." He was the advance man for the delegation to the Miami political conventions in 1972. "I was frightened all the time but the Lord kept opening up opportunities. I had to get the Forever Family tent up in Flamingo Park. The Zippies said you can't put it up here. I said Lord if you want this tent up you're going to have to do it. Then the Zippies offered to put the tent up elsewhere, and it ended up smack in the center of the whole park."

A mellow witness is appropriate for some occasions. There is the person-to-person caring in the prison visitation and high school tutoring situations. After the tutoring program got started, a few Berkeley radicals challenged it and demanded it be abolished for mixing church and state. Susan met with them, insisted that only tutoring and loving concern went on, and invited them to join the project. Susan was not lying. The only overt evangelical zeal connected with the tutoring program comes in a Thursday evening meeting when the tutors meet to discuss and pray about their work. There are dreams of a youth hostel where there would be no buttonholing. "We'd just let the people know why we're doing it." There are dreams of a coffeehouse with no raps and trips laid on people. "Just a place for congregating and talking."

CWLF's campus ministry has changed. Often the campus table is not even set up. Fewer people are interested in witnessing in Sproul Plaza, though Inter-Varsity often has a table there and various other groups come and go. Resurrection City has begun taking large ads in the Daily Californian, the student newspaper. A religious questionnaire has been developed for use at the campus table. The object is to find out where students are at religiously and to gain an opportunity to listen and talk to them. The plan was to have several brothers and sisters turn out every day for the campus ministry, with only one or two sitting at the table. The others would fan out into the throngs of students. Too many people at the campus table might seem too formidable and some inquirers might hesitate to come up and talk. Very rarely are the questionnaires used. People either lack the energy and interest, or are too shy. Perhaps many are dissatisfied with this kind of campus ministry. When all people in CWLF were urged to come to Christmas carol on the steps of Sproul Plaza, a surprisingly small number came. They sang lustily but it seemed almost a Salvation Army scene.

There is a tendency among witnesses to see the witnesses as "coming around." Probably many who have been witnessed to would not be able to recognize the glowing reports of their encounter offered at a Family Meeting. Persons are often seen to be "searching" or "hurting" or "really interested."

The most important thing about the witness of the Jesus movement remains to be said. It is there. That would seem obvious. Studies on marijuana use often begin with the stunning conclusion that marijuana is there and available and there are groups of people who smoke it. If this is obvious, it is also crucial. Jesus People may be singing or meeting or standing around or looking joyful or doing nothing. All the while they are there. Not a few young people in the depths or heights of an LSD trip encounter Jesus, who has somehow been there all the time. If there is a Jesus group (or a church) there when he comes down off his trip as there was for Des, he may check it out. The churches, too, with all their weaknesses and irrelevancies and with all the hostilities they arouse, are repositories of a living tradition, celebrators of an ongoing Presence. If and when someone gets around to a quest for Jesus, or gets in touch with some childhood experiences again, there is presence, availability, and continuity. At the heights of the Jesus movement, the media not only trumpeted that availabity but possibly set in motion not a few searches and inner inquiries. The photographers and reporters who did the Look cover story and ended up as Christians are only the most notable example.

Personal Growth

"We have many hassles. We are shaped through fire. 1 Peter has the image of God as the blacksmith. Friction creates heat to make the soul malleable. God may be heating up the furnace to do some work for you." "God is the refiner. In the fire the gunk comes to the surface. When the world looks to the Christian for a cup of cold water, it should not be dirty water. We need to be purified." Jesus People do not cease to have hassles, though their personal growth may be filled with joy as well as pain.

In the same meeting where the above words were spoken, a brother says, "It's really been hard for us since we got to Berkeley. It just blew me out. We don't want to tell anybody what to do. But I need help knowing what to do. I hope the Lord shows me. It's hard enough talking things through with the brothers and sisters, let alone others. Nobody wants to be told what to do."

Bryan talks almost gratefully of how the Lord is handing him back the problems he grew up with. But now he is in a position of strength to work them through. After the honeymoon the growth begins. "The other night I got so mad at Bill again I told him to go to hell. It shocked me. Lord, what's happening to us? We began to deal with it." Bryan is excited to see the real changes beginning to happen in himself. Joyce

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has grown into a position where she relates to people better, where she feels free and relaxed in the Lord.

At the CWLF New Year's celebration (1973), Susan dared to discuss problems of sexual identity. "I thought I was all together, that any gayness was a past problem. Then I realized I still had it. I was getting into emotional involvements not in the Lord." Her courage led others to discuss similar problems. A closely knit group led by Susan and Jerry evolved in a few weeks and began meeting every Sunday afternoon. Brothers and sisters in and outside CWLF shared and found strength from one another. A brother says, "The female in me is struggling with the male." Not a statement typically voiced in evangelical circles! A sister describes how she stopped seeing another sister because it was a relationship too heavy to deal with. Someone at the New Year's celebration, outside CWLF, reacted harshly to Susan: "If you think you can say someting like that, it'll be interesting to see how long you last." In June 1973 Susan and Jerry began discussing the possibility of some kind of Christian "Sex Institute."

Political consciousness and women's consciousness have undergone significant evolution within CWLF. Susan is the best example of the first, and several women reflect the second.

When Susan first became a Christian she called herself a burned-out radical. For a year or more she felt in some vague way that she was still Left politically, but she stayed away from any overt political activities and felt she had forever left that style, which she associated with hate-tripping. When she went to Campus Crusade's Dallas Explo in the summer of 1972 she met some of the people who produce the Post-American, a politically radical evangelical paper. "I saw a lot of myself. The old hates and fears. I loved them dearly. I could get next to them easier than to evangelicals. They hated the same things I would hate if I still operated out of hate. They seem basically committed to the Left with some support from Christ." Susan sympathized with the Post-American but was not an active supporter. Yet she had felt great revulsion when Campus Crusade led the 75,000 young people gathered at Dallas through "patriotic exercises which seemed militaristic."

Susan looked for some kind of local involvement. She wanted to think of herself as in the movement. She felt that CWLF in its early days had "blown any possibility of an entrance to the Left." She saw two of the elders as rightist and felt they may have moved there from far Right. To keep peace, she agreed to disagree with them and say little more.

As she looked more closely at CWLF leafleting of leftist marches and rallies, she began to consider withdrawing from such activities and to voice quiet protests against them. She argued that no one could reach leftist leaders at a demonstration. They were in their glory then. If one wanted to reach the leaders, one would have to be a leftist Christian, active in the movement. Eventually Susan refused to march or leaflet as part of CWLF at leftist events. She felt CWLF was ripping the movement off. "I felt like a traitor to the movement. If I want to go as an individual Christian, fine." The last straw came when a leaflet with Susan's name and address on it was handed out without her knowledge at a political rally. Many of her friends in a leftist organization she had been attending received the leaflets. Jack apologized. CWLF had thought Susan especially appropriate for talking with leftists interested in Christianity. Indeed she has been. Susan finally replied, "I'm not sold on leafleting for Christianity anyway. Political leafleting somehow seems a different thing."

Susan later accidentally met a friend active in the Communist Party she had known and worked with for many years back in her Midwest days in the movement. "I couldn't believe meeting him. He invited me to go to his group the next day. I need prayer for that. I'm going though. I told him I was a Christian. He really freaked out. It was the hardest of all to tell him. But he really opened a door for me by inviting me tomorrow night." Susan immediately felt problems as a Christian insider. The first night there was a request for fifty cents dues. "Do I want to support the Communist Party? I rationalized it by the books I had received in return." Susan made no secret of the fact that she was a Christian and eventually the group received her as a sister, perhaps finding her something of a novelty. "It's frustrating to see the despair in their daily lives, the fights. I'm helpless. I am a friend though. Slowly they are accepting me and sometimes discuss their problems with me." Susan is scrupulous about not ripping off the group or being a mere infiltrator. "I hate that word." She is trying to stake out a territory for herself as an honest leftist Christian. In the process she is rethinking and perhaps recovering some of her past.

Susan may be important evidence that at conversion the closure that seems to take place may not necessarily be permanent and premature. It may be a honeymoon rush of deliverance, high experience, and peaceful serenity after a particularly acute crisis in one's life. When the honeymoon is over, the person may begin to grow and mature in the new faith, to reexamine the immediate rewriting of past history that took place upon conversion, and to begin building a larger worldview on the basis of the new vision granted at conversion. Possibly in Susan's case there was not a real vision granted at conversion, only deliverance from an unsatisfying past and from acute crisis in the immediate past. The vision gradually took shape as Susan began to think about what being a Christian might mean. Jack describes his growth after conversion in the same way. In Jack's case, however, there was no immediate crisis prior to his conversion. Nor was his conversion sudden like Susan's.

Such development is not always the case. Many Jesus People do not seem to have moved off the ground they were standing on at conversion. This may reflect less maturity on their part, less intellectual resources, different socioeconomic background, a less integrated personality and therefore more insecurity and less daring, less of a total or intellectual commitment to their past activities, a greater sense of being delivered and saved, or different teachers and Christian groups playing the role of significant others right after their conversion. Susan may be unusual in her intelligence, her past training, the intensity of her commitment, and in the kinds of people and the group (CWLF) she related to after her conversion. It is hard to imagine Susan finding a place in the many Jesus communes on the West Coast.

The issue of women's liberation first came strongly into the group's consciousness when a relatively sophisticated sister offered a course on that theme in the Radical Street Christianity Workshop in the summer of 1972, and then in two successive quarters of study in Crucible in the fall and winter of 1972.

Many single women and wives of brothers in CWLF took these courses. This sister's very appointment to the co-editorship of Right On had been something of a shock to many.[7] After these courses, a few women began visiting the women's groups in Berkeley, and especially one at the Graduate Theological Union, though they sometimes resented the heavy trips laid on them by anti-evangelicals. Other sisters began to notice the "really top-notch women serving as elders at First Presbyterian Church" in Berkeley where they worshipped.

The women's issue boiled over in 1973 when a new sister on the fringe of CWLF challenged the male dominance in the Sunday afternoon "church" meeting. A kind of self-appointed committee of five to seven brothers had created this meeting, and they now guided the services. Women did not teach or preach. In many ways they had a lesser role than they did in nearly all other CWLF activities. Some agitation began. Other women joined in the inquiries. Women's issues were raised "indiscreetly" in the very prayers of the worship service and very often after the service. There were confrontations and tears. The committee was challenged and decided to offer to open its weekly meetings to any sisters who wanted to talk over these issues. Several sisters declared their solidarity with the new sister. This came as no small surprise to some of the brothers. One said to Susan, "I'm really surprised at you. I never expected this of you." The issue heated up to a standoff. Tempers were lost, women cried, men became angry and defensive, strident voices were raised, and a few sweetly or naively handed it all over to the Lord. The entire church group threatened to blow apart. Many women and a few men began staying away.

It is important to see what exactly was happening and why it had not happened before in CWLF itself. (The church group was loosely affiliated with CWLF. All the brothers on the committee were in CWLF, but all CWLF people were not involved in or interested in the church group. Many who attended on Sunday afternoons had no affiliation with CWLF.) This event illuminates a whole aspect of CWLF that would not otherwise have become visible. As long as CWLF remained a Forever Family or some kind of coalition of ministries, brothers and sisters of many theological traditions and persuasions could freely participate, praising the Lord for such a group. They almost seemed to leave at the door the special axes commonly ground in their own traditions. It now seems clear why. CWLF was many things, but it was never a church. Therein lay its great freedom, its loose theologies piled on top of one another, its flexible ministries, and its increasing openness to women playing important roles. There were already two women on the council of heads of ministry, one as co-editor of Right On and one as head of the tutoring program. David had occasionally remarked that he could conceive of female elders since CWLF made no claims to being a New Testament church.

Now this whole tenuous edifice threatened to come tumbling down. Sunday afternoon was "church," or aspired to be. The axes were brought inside. One of those that a lot of brothers and not a few sisters carried was the subordination of women in the church of God. The easy graciousness of the communal life-style, the happy evangelical family, the precariously balanced organizational structure were shaken to their foundations.

Brothers who professed to be "really open to women's liberation" began to show those liberal colors that radicals in other movements have grown to despise. "Let's pray the Lord for a solution suitable to the whole community." Translation to women feeling oppressed: a compromise between the oppressed and the oppressor would be most pleasing to the Lord. "I really agree with your concerns, but your attitude is really offensive." Translation: Ask nice or we won't give you your rights. Wait patiently for us to give you what we and the Lord think best.

A participant-observer might now begin to reexamine the apparently easy acceptance of the sister who co-edited Right On for over a year. She had a prominent role, but she did not play it prominently. There was an engaging meekness about her. Her eyes were often cast down, her voice always soft. She never seemed aggressive or threatening to any brothers. Indeed, she took little interest in much of the workings of CWLF. The most anybody noticed was that on principle she occasionally refused to take notes if asked at a staff conference. She had a meek spirit. She seemed all sweetness and light from a distance, and few if any knew her well. She is a quiet person who keeps to herself. She is not one of the leading "prayers" in any group; few people know much about her joys or her sorrows. She has no interest in heavy confrontations with anybody, but perhaps especially with men. She minimizes her whole relationship to CWLF. There is an air of quiet elitism. Some would say she is cool. But never offensive or demanding.

When the battle struck, she simply stayed out of it, not attending any of the meetings with the committee or joining in behind-the-scenes discussion. The new woman, a graduate of Union Seminary with a strong history of scrapping, was allowed to catch the flak. Perhaps the co-editor of Right On was simply not interested in CWLF hassles. Some wished she had been more interested in her sisters. A year later she did become interested, and proceeded to lead the rally around women's issues.

CWLF was simply not prepared for a woman who would not ask nicely. That was one problem. Another was that visionary Christian sisters possibly expected instant liberation once they had said the word, just like the famous instant heroin withdrawals touted of the Jesus movement.

Everything came together in this crisis, then. The mind-sets and prejudices of old theological traditions had been set to flood in at the sound of "church." (No Jesus revolution there!) A new style on the part of Christian sisters caught the brothers unprepared. Christian sisters expected instant liberation. Eventually the committee met and appointed one woman to join them. She was committed to women's liberation, was a seminary graduate although not ordained, and decidedly did not appear aggressive. The woman from Union had begun the battle nearly alone, had suffered the most, and could now be ignored. (Two years later, however, the woman from Union Seminary was one of the more prominent leaders and functioned as an elder.) It was probably too little too late. Some women never came back to the Sunday afternoon meetings. The church is not what it was. But not a few brothers have grown remarkably, from some of the sisters' viewpoints. And some of the sisters have moved on to other questions. Why are women in the CWLF office paid less? Why should there be elders at all in CWLF? Who appointed them? How are they responsible to the CWLF constituency?

During the turmoil which lasted for several weeks, Susan xeroxed an article on women's liberation from the safe Christianity Today and handed it to each male at a heads of ministries meeting which she chaired. She remarked that she still considered CWLF more open than any Christian group she knew of, but nevertheless it had become a heavy scene for women. A five-weeks Crucible course on the problem of women and the New Testament was also taught at this time. The general position was that the Gospel opened up a complete freedom of restraints on women. CWLF had come a long way in one year. Only the previous summer at the Radical Street Christianity Workshop Mike had stepped to the front of the room after a woman's presentation and explained that anything she had said about the Scriptures was simply her own opinion and not really exegesis. He then remained stagecenter and fielded the questions and oversaw the discussion which followed.

The Others

Whenever a group of people gather who have been converted to a new perspective on reality and acquire a new symbolic universe, they will find it necessary to work out some relationship to groups they have previously related to in their now reinterpreted pasts and to present rival definitions of reality. It is axiomatic that more energy is spent staking one's position relative to counter-realities seen as competitors or to definitions too similar to one's own than to realities comfortably distant. Thus, in Berkeley Hare Krishna, Transcendental Meditation, and other assorted human potential and Eastern movements receive no little attention from some brothers and sisters in CWLF. There is also the Graduate Theological Union, a federation of nine seminaries on Holy Hill in Berkeley on the north side of the campus. This sometimes takes on the character within CWLF of a monolithic liberal conspiracy. A few local churches, assorted campus preachers and campus ministers (a rather crucial difference between them), and other Christian groups also come into view.

At the 1972 Workshop, one of the brothers new to teaching spoke on the cults. "These pseudo-Christian groups are Satan's strategy and pride. Satan is still pretty much of a crafty dude. He has a cult tailored for everyone." He mentioned Mormonism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Science, Theosophy, Bahai, Spiritism, hesitated a moment and added Liberalism, and Neo-Orthodoxy. He noted that cults typically rip Scripture out of context. "Also there is always Scripture and another source of authority." There arose some discussion of alleged Latter Day Saints' underwear, a special weave guaranteed to ward off demons.

At a Family Meeting a visitor anounced that Swami Satchadananda was appearing at the Newman Center. "He's one of Satan's boys. I'll need some money for literature on false prophets," one of the visiting brothers explained. In a discussion of Hare Krishnas, Jack suggested two approaches he had seen. One, stay with them and love them. Two, expose them and show them up. "Option one is the one I think we want." He described giving a young chanter a CWLF leaflet during a Krishna march. "He read it all the way through on the spot and became interested in Jesus. He said that in Los Angeles they just told him to keep chanting." CWLF avoids "negative leafleting." Jack described a leaflet he had seen at Jack London Square in Oakland showing the Mararishi of Transcendental Meditation as a goat-headed devil with the number 666 on his forehead. "This kind of thing is not what we want to be doing."

There are the humanists, one of whom corresponded with _Right On_. The _Right On_ staff and several members of the Humanists' Association in San Francisco planned to get together for a dialogue. It would not be a confrontation or a debate.

There are the optimists. Jack related to the Family Meeting that one rebuked him at a peace march where he was handing out leaflets. "I don't need to trust in God. I have faith in man." Jack replied, "What's the anti-war march all about then?" That clinched it for the gathered family and there was much laughter.

There are people of goodwill who might consider themselves good-natured pluralists. When CWLF was active during a Krishna celebration and parade, one such person said, "I really appreciate what you people are doing, but you shouldn't be here today. This is Hare Krishna's thing. Do your thing on your day." The brothers and sisters could not agree. "What we do cannot and should not always sit well with people."

There are also people of ill will. A local group which specializes in Latter Day fraternity pranks published the following poster and stapled or pasted it all over Berkeley early one Saturday morning:

> JESUS LOVES YOU—KILL YOURSELF. The humiliation and joyless vapidity of daily existence, where life is only survival, is part of the necessary suffering, in accord with His plan, that will cleanse your soul for the afterlife to come.
>
> So, brothers and sisters of the Cross; you who have accepted the Lord Jesus Christ into your hearts, who have forgiven your trespassers, and who regard the daily plate of shit as the Holy Sacrament of Fate—give that final testimony of Faith and LEAP FOR THE LORD.
>
> Come, Children of God, to the Golden Gate Bridge, Sunday, October 8th, 1972, 6 AM to the first annual Meet-Your-Maker Marathon and punctuate your life of rigorous devotion and conscientious self-denial with the supreme sacrifice: JUMP FOR JESUS!
>
> With regard to those sociopathic heretics who feel that boredom isn't the Will of God, but the necessary product of a society in which time is money; who say that it's the commodity economy, and its capitalist pimps (forgive them, Jesus!), that reduces men and women to mere objects in the order of things, and who have not yet recognized the impossibility of changing life on earth: they might be better off writing to those God-less malcontents at NEGATION (PO Box 1213, Berkeley, Ca 94701) to discuss such blasphemous matters.
>
> So as to dispel any unintended illusions let us, as a great Christian once said, make a few things perfectly clear:
>
> It's not because we fear our own freedom that we'll submit to any degradation and to the authorities who enforce it, but because it is only in the acceptance of our destiny that any freedom can be found.
>
> The amoral advocates of unbridled passion and world revolution are just hellbound hedonists who don't know that self-less renunciation is the only path to heavenly bliss. They say that our movement for spiritual rediscovery is an "emotional plague" that infects those whose daily squalor and anaemic will-to-live has made them despair about ever changing life. But how can it be: it's our only hope! Furthermore, let us rectify once and for all that Satanic Untruth that the religious excitation we get from being close to Jesus is only a sublimation of our

> repressed sexuality. After all, *every good Christian knows that genitals are TOOLS OF THE DEVIL and that orgasms are just revolting SEIZURES OF SIN experienced by those into whom the love of God has not penetrated*. And when the atheistic anarchists of today's wayward youth say that God only represents the projected image and repository of *man's* own alienated powers, the supreme but suppressed possibilities of people themselves, they mouth an *irredeemable* *sacrilege*.
>
> For those who *do* know the Lord, the Kingdom of Heaven awaits you. Jesus die for *you*. You owe Him *at* *least* your life. So don't forget to join your enlightened brethren October 8th for *The-Big-Baptism-In-The-Bay*. See you there!
>
> --Power to the Passive! Central Committee
> Christian World Liberation Front

In the lower left corner of the poster are several men and women with crosses on their heads. A man with a hammer is striking the cross and pounding the people into the ground. One with no more than his hat showing is saying, "And the Meek Shall Inherit the Earth."

Some of the people in CWLF were angry at first, but took it in stride. CWLF people spread out all over town and got most of the posters down. The same group had stolen all the issues of the *Daily Californian* a year before and replaced them with their own version of a *Daily Cal* highly subservient to the Administration. Interestingly enough, a few radical politicos in Berkeley were impressed with the piece and credited CWLF with a brilliant self-parody for the purpose of making a statement about where they were.

There are many groups within the Jesus movement broadly defined or the wider evangelical tradition with which the brothers and sisters in CWLF continually find themselves in juxtaposition. They may be leafleting on Jack London Square and find themselves together with leafleters from The Way[8]—"one of those heresies where you can do what you want as long as it feels good." They are worried that new Christians may be taken in. They discuss putting out a leaflet on The Way. "There is much truth there, but it is another Gospel." Someone else says, "I've heard some adverse things about them, too. I don't like to judge. We have to listen to see where they're at."

Once a brother just returned from Northern California said, "I met some Children of God and some Acts 2.38 Christians (Pentecostals). They seemed weird, but they sure were sold out to Jesus. You have to have fellowship with people like that. They really go all the way. Jesus Is Light is written on the light switch. Jesus Is the Door is written on the doors. There are passages written all over the floors, too."

The breed called campus preachers gives CWLF no little discomfort and embarrassment. Their style and their message are not congenial to CWLF. A sister complains: "A couple people on campus almost preach with clenched fists. They dishonor the Lord and people just get defensive. They won't listen. Who wants that kind of love?" Another adds: "There is a place to be militant—against evil and oppression. But you don't come down on individuals. Treat individuals with tenderness, but be strong against evil. We do not take it upon ourselves to be judges. The listener is the object of the battle, not the enemy." Still another says: "We are called to speak the truth in love, not spout proof texts. We try to be open to where the person is. Then tell the truth to that situation."

During a weekly class on Revelation that Mike was teaching in the fall of 1972 on the grass at the edge of Sproul Plaza, a loud preacher took up his position about fifty feet away. It was impossible to ignore him. A sister said, "I know him. I met him once at the House of Pergamos." Mike says, "If he's a brother the Lord will bless him." There is general discomfort in the class. Finally they move farther away to have their Bible study in peace. Later, another campus preacher comes over and monopolizes the conversation for several minutes. After he leaves Mike says, "I just prayed silently that the Lord would take care of it." When the preacher runs out of steam and goes away, Mike continues with his class.

At a Family Meeting the subject of unloving preaching comes up. A sister who has been active at the campus table says, "I just get the creeps whenever this one preacher comes around. I just start praying. Yesterday the Gay Lib table was next to ours. He saw them and started in on them. We called him down and apoligized to the Gay Lib people. He just said well, I've got my subject for today's sermon and went over to the steps to begin a harangue on homosexuality. The Gay Lib people came over and asked, 'What do you guys stand for then?' We talked quite a while. One said, 'I've been looking for something like that for a long time.'" There was tremendous excitement when the sister finished speaking. Jack commended her witness. All prayed for the Gay Libber. (No one prayed for the campus preacher.)

Campus preaching is a world unto itself. Two or three times a week in Sproul Plaza on the UC campus there occurs about noontime an interesting spectacle. A campus preacher takes up his position and begins shouting to (at) the crowds. To give one instance:

His pulpit is a cement pillar. A large black Bible, taken carefully out of its box, is placed on the pillar. He begins immediately with verve. His inflections show the studied rise and fall of the revivalist, of Billy Graham. He seems powerful and impassioned.

A crowd of longhairs smoking pot lounge on the steps of the Student Union building in front of him. Some carry on their own conversations, some heckle, some seem hardly to notice, some throw pennies—and immediately others run out to pick them up. Some people, psychological basket cases, become extremely agitated and like bulls pace around him kicking their feet. Some walk very close to pass him and when they are right next to him say bullshit or fuck you, thrusting their middle finger in his face. Heckles are loudest when he talks about sin and "conceived in sin."

He is twenty-eight, he says, grew up in Oakland and Berkeley, has been in jail, was on heroin for ten years until Jesus cured him with no withdrawal pains. This is a message of love, a call to repentance. He recounts past conversions he has seen, a girl who convulsed while three hundred gathered round, and the demon came out and she came to the Lord. He recalls a healing from Parkinsons' disease and mentions a man who died of a strychnine dose one hour after he rebuked the Lord by Strawberry Creek. He says he is a singer and begins some very long and uninteresting songs about David and Moses and Elijah.

In the crowd two short-haired Mormon elders pause for a few moments at a discreet distance. A couple of Jesus Freaks come close in sympathy and then disappear. After a while a homely girl with turned-up-at-the-toe boots appears and hands out pamphlets about the five ways. Another tall gaunt man stands close in moral support. Through it all a veteran street preacher stands at the adjacent pillar, looking like a fight manager, occasionally leafing through his pocket New Testament.

When the sermon is over, the preacher, the manager, the girl, and the gaunt supporter come together. Another young clean-looking Christian, who has been listening for a long time, gets into a loud argument with the manager over the tactics of street preaching. He feels that no love, only judgment, shows through. He is especially agitated about the terrible singing, which he considers a really gross put-on. He admits to being a "professional" singer-preacher.

A man walks up and engages the little huddle in nearly violent conversation, continually walking away but unable not to come back. He is native-born Spanish, he says. He says mother-fucker to two well-dressed middle-aged ladies who happen by—in Spanish, and then translates for the huddle. He has been in prison and met some good Christian chaplains, but none were closed-minded fundamentalists who demanded conversion before they would make a telephone call for you. He knows a lot of Bible passages and

> spits them out at the preacher. He gets a sympathetic hearing from the clean-cut Christian and makes the most of it. The preacher says to his manager, not too quietly, "He's demon possessed." He asks the Spaniard if he can see the love of Christ in him. The Spaniard shouts no. A heavy conference on evangelism ensues, with the preacher and manager in near but not total agreement, the clean-cut Christian professional singer in reasoned and loud disagreement, and the Spaniard shouting contradictions and saying fuck very loud whenever he is losing their attention. Occasionally the preacher and manager stop to diagnose the Spaniard's spiritual condition, asserting that he is only half-possessed because totally possessed people always walk around bumping into things. The girl says a supporting word, with her speech defect, whenever she can agree with someone. The gaunt man smiles gently. After the Spaniard leaves, the argument continues rather loudly for some time, while several people stop for a few minutes to see what's happening. The people on the steps are still there, though many have left. They are no more interested in the Christians arguing than they were in the preacher's sermon.
>
> As the argument closes, the manager is saying that preaching judgment is in the Bible and you can't stop it just to please the crowd. These people around here never want to hear any doctrine anyway. The preacher softens the manager's views and argues for preaching against sin but not calling people out of the crowds as dirty homos, filthy prostitutes, etc., the way another campus preacher does. The preacher seems strangely sad. Perhaps the Spaniard has called him to repentance. The manager agrees a little with the preacher, but his line is much harder. The girl sides with the manager and so does the gaunt man.
>
> The manager says, "C'mon, let's go get some coffee." The girl and the gaunt man tag along. The preacher, looking very weary, says no, he has to get going. He walks away and almost immediately he disappears among the crowds that keep pouring back and forth across Bancroft Ave.

There are other Christian groups to worry about, too. Resurrection City, Campus Crusade, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, the local church, the Chinese Christian Fellowship. At one Family Meeting a visitor asked to speak. He said the Lord had given him a vision of hundreds of Christians from Inter-Varsity, Resurrection City, Campus Crusade, CWLF, and First Presbyterian Church coming together to praise the Lord. He looked to Scripture to see how it would work. From

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the foot-washing story he concluded that people were to trust each other in relationship. He also drew conclusions from the Cain and Abel story which were not immediately intelligible. In the prayers that followed some praised the Lord for this brother, some sought help from the Lord for bringing such an eventuality off, and others prayed what could be called cautionary prayers. It was hard to say whether they were rebukes to the brother or gentle reminders to the Lord. For a while a few brothers and sisters from some of these groups did begin meeting every Sunday evening in one of the dormitories on campus.

Resurrection City is the most successful Christian phenomenon active in Berkeley since the 1972-73 school year. In some ways it has the charismatic flourish and excitement of early CWLF, a fact that is not lost on a few envious people in CWLF. In most ways this Pentecostal group, begun by a twenty-two-year-old Assembly of God circuit rider from Chico, California, is a world apart from CWLF. They meet several times a week in their Christian House for Bible Study but their big meeting, their "Night of Miracles," is held at the Veterans' Hall in Berkeley. Widely advertised and held twice a month, it draws up to seven hundred people. It is an experience not to be forgotten.[9]

> As you walk into the very large hall there are four large paper buckets at the entrance, about the size of a Col. Sanders barrel of chicken, waiting for contributions. They are presently empty. On the stage is a grand piano. Two sisters, one at the piano and one with a flute, are playing beautifully. Everything is from memory. For anything the sister at the piano picks up, the sister on the flute immediately provides a stunning obbligato.
>
> After a half-hour there is the introduction to the Night of Miracles. The speaker is slick and polished, with the inflections of a tent or TV evangelist. Immediately there is long prayer, with much speaking in tongues murmur and many thank you Jesus's.

Then begins a long period of singing. Song after song comes with tremendous enthusiasm, clapping, many knowing the words by heart. It seems the roof will be raised the singing is so loud and spirited.

There is sexuality in this audience. This Night of Miracles is happening in the bosom of Earth Mother. There is a feeling of bodies, of darker emotions, of lower class revivals. This is Saturday night entertainment and very good at that. There is joy and enthusiasm and goodwill, some hugging, and a lot of incipient tongues being set loose. In this crowd of about three hundred there may be about twenty-five blacks and about fifty middle-aged people.

The leader says the time of the service has been changed from 7:30 to 6:30, but some people seem to have forgotten. "Don't forget next time. Nursery service is provided for restless or talkative kids. No moving about please."

Another leader takes over and goes on with the four square truths. There are many Amens and wows. "You're rich tonight," he says. As he speaks, there are couples and groups shifting around the large hall to be with friends. There seem to be "dates," too. There is shouting, emotional jags, barbershop tenors, arms thrust upward in body movement, teeny-boppers moving around to see who's there.

The Lord has a plan and directed Resurrection City to have a part in it, the leader continues. "We're having the Night of Miracles on the first and third Saturday until God changes our direction. On Tuesdays and Saturday mornings we continue our worship and teaching."

A black singer is introduced who goes to the piano, says he is just a vessel, and begins to share a song that just came to him, kind of a prayer, he says. He has an absolutely gorgeous tenor voice. The crowd is enthralled.

The funny woman with the broken tambourine on her head is here. There are girls with pain and rapture on their faces, stretching their eyes and arms toward the ceiling. This is wholly, holy rapture, awe, sexuality, mysticism. These people let it happen in a way that never happens at CWLF. A woman with an elaborate red hairdo and spectacular black pants suit and many pearls sits with a young man. Is it her son, who needs this sort of thing? She lifts her hands up in enthusiastic prayer. There is no closure here. The crowd is awash in a sea of supernatural id. There are church people letting it all hang out for the first time ever.

The leader who is now preaching is beginning to work the crowd, moving toward a miraculous culmination. He wants the crowd to be open, to expect God to touch them, to move through the ministry of the leader. "You didn't come here to see humanity. God himself is going to do something here tonight and we fully expect it." He tells a story of a woman with a pancreas problem. A year later he

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meets her and she has gained twenty-five pounds. He says to the crowd, "Say something." The crowd says, "Praise God." He says, "I'm really thrilled with things like that. Aren't you?" The crowd cheers.

"This is the forty-third sermon I've preached in twenty-nine days. How many know that's a lot? I've been everywhere, Southern California, Missouri. Some sessions I went six hours. How many of you know that's a lot? God healed my vocal cords about seven times." Laughter. "Nobody knew who Mario Murillo was before this Resurrection City began. Now they do. We've been through a lot here.

"I have to share a few things. The Spirit demands I say these things, even if they're heavy. People thank me for honesty. I have personally been involved in over two hundred churches and youth groups in the last five years. I was probably one of the first ones to believe that God could save a hippie. I was in San Francisco in '65 and '66. I doubt that any in this room has seen as much as I've seen. I've learned to detect the signs of death. The average life span of a Bible study or a Christian movement is eighteen months. Next month Resurrection City will be a year and a half old. Rather than give a eulogy I'm going to share concerns. I'm very, very, very concerned that we not die next month.

"These are very brutal statements. I've gone through three occasions when I really thought God was going to use a group. He passed it by. There was total disillusionment. Three days and nights I was in prayer and ended up in the hospital. There was failure, bitter defeat, retreat. Tonight I see empty seats. I see it coming. Every empty seat is representative of someone's personal failure. I am not like my predecessor. I refuse to live in mediocrity. Not for five minutes. I've been hurt too many times.

"I believe we are in the greatest hour of testing ever. Next month we are eligible for an overwhelming mortality statistic. I don't know what's going to happen. This Tuesday I myself am preaching at our Christian House. I'm taking the Bible study because I have the oversee of this ministry. I want everyone here, if the Holy Spirit directs, to be there.

"Next thing. Everything God does is expensive. It costs somebody a lot. If you think we haven't received criticism for meeting here tonight. Youth ministers warn against us, pastors pray we'll get out of town. This meeting tonight is a testimony, an emergency ward. A free-for-all for the broken and bound physically. Saturday night at Resurrection City is a needed link between the needy of the world and the anointing of Jesus Christ. Many choose to come here rather than see an M.D. or a psychiatrist. Say Amen. Many depend on it as a Holy Ghost clinic for help and hope. This is the only hope some people have. You know how that makes me feel? They broke their body just to get here. We are far more influential than we think we are. Some people here are just spiritual hangnails, drinking in the blessings. That's OK too.

"Someone had the gall to say to me, 'Your Saturday night meetings are not deep enough.' I said how insensitive can anybody be? I am not here to tickle theological funnybones. People desperate for healing have come. There is nothing complicated about sewing up a wound. It's not deep. But dying people, on their way to suicide, are crying in the corridors every Saturday night here, so glad to hear the simple but profound Gospel. A filthy vile girl feels clean after two words of the Gospel from a counselor. Shrinks charge $50 an hour and can't do one-tenth of what we do on Saturday nights. Look at these chairs, they're hospital beds. They need to be filled. Bring people here."

He often pauses to see if the audience is with him. If he is losing them, he revs them up, gets them to participate, softens and lifts his voice again. He bows his head for prayer.

"Close your eyes. I want every seat filled when we meet again. I'm going to do something very scary. The Lord gave us Veterans' Hall. Now, Lord, may there never be another empty seat in this building ever again. How many of you believe that? I feel faith coming right now. Lord, never again. We'll need two hundred more here next time. One time my staff got scared. I had people coming out of the rafters at our House on College Avenue. I said, Never again up here. We'll need a new place. And we haven't had a Saturday night meeting there since.

"We're going to sing a few more songs and then I'm going to minister. Wouldn't it be grand if every last disease in this room were healed? This month is going to be the greatest month ever. More conversions, more healings." The crowd joins in singing Glory, Glory, Hallelujah over and over and nearly lifts the roof off the building. Mario says save some of that energy for the streets, you're really old-line Pentecostals. The crowd loves it. He prays for a double portion of healing and that people will not be looking at Mario Murillo, but only at Jesus Christ. He tells a long story, quoting someone who appears to be Jesus. The story is not in the New Testament, however. It doesn't really matter.

He begins a long sermon on Acts 8. Most people do not have Bibles. The crowd is now about four hundred. He is engaging, humorous. There is a slight hint of self-parody. The crowd is with him. Say Amen. Amen. "Peter said, 'You and your money can go to hell. I perceive you are being pickled by your own vinegar. Peter knew more psychoanalysis than Freud did. Freud is the biggest crock of foolishness ever put on paper. There's a multi-billion dollar healing neuroses." The crowd roars with delight. He puts together scraps of information that would please both middle America and radical therapists. There is an elaborate parody on the mental health establishment. He is so successful in this long excursus, strung together with bits of information ripped out of context and placed on a giant collage with something for everybody to denounce. He pauses.

> "Am I like Marjoe? What I say would hold water in the laboratory. I don't believe in your Pentecostal anti-intellectualism. I don't say anything I can't back up. Freudian psychology can't deal with guilt. We as Christians should never feel inferior to anyone. A five-year-old Christian knows more than a non-Christian professor." Word after contradictory word surges over the Amens.
>
> Then it is time for the miracles to begin. "I see healing in the eye. Now in ears. I see a nerve problem. Let that handicap go. Somewhere down the aisle to my left. One of you counselors, go down there, further back. I see a neck . . . throat . . . back problem. Clotting of the blood. A tumor. A muscle problem. A leg injury between the hip and knee. Saints, I want you to exhibit a little excitement right now because this is real what's happening here.
>
> "Start singing, Lord I Believe. As soon as you know you're healed, come down here. I see someone with excruciating head pain. Marcus, go up the aisle, no back a little. Put your hand on that head. In the green shirt. I need another worker. Sister, put your hands on your waist. Brother, put your hand on your head. Someone recently gave birth to a child; there was congenital damage. It's being healed now. There is a damaged head from a car accident somewhere here. Whiplash. A shoulder condition. Come down here, come up front now. As we sing He Touched Me move out into the aisle, use your new limbs, come forward.
>
> "You heard me mention a car accident. We have one here. When did you have your car accident?" "1957. But I have a recurring pain. Had it again this morning. Tonight it went away."
>
> "Here's somebody who had a broken leg. Stomp your left foot."
>
> On it went. Everyone who needed healing got healed, whether he wanted it or not. And before he asked. It was a Night of Double Miracles. The miracle of healing. And the miracle of people being healed before they had a chance to say what their problem was.

CWLF has no official or even quasi-official relation to any of the churches in the Berkeley area, although First Presbyterian of Berkeley and Walnut Creek Presbyterian are active supporters and make vital financial contributions. Many clergy in Berkeley tend to assume that CWLF is linked with First Presbyterian, which may make it easier to write the group off. Perhaps less than one-eighth of those regularly involved in CWLF attend First Presbyterian in Berkeley. Others are active in Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto and in Brethren, Baptist, Quaker, and Bible churches in the area. A few have become interested in the liturgical experiences of Lutheran and Episcopalian and Roman Catholic churches. Many go to no church.

Jack once said, "I never met a minister the first two years we were here. We just have parallel ministries, I guess. There was no hostility or competition. We haven't been called to what they're into." He adds that making denominational definitions and distinctions is of very slight concern to him. Many in CWLF, including Jack and his family, have no church affiliation. Perhaps he could never be comfortable in a church. CWLF has been reluctant to call itself a church, although the Forever Family idea comes close to that. When pressed in debate, Jesus People will always answer spokesmen from the institutional church, "We too are the Church." It is, of course, possible that many churches would be less than eager to contribute to CWLF's ministry if CWLF were just another church. Campus Crusade carefully avoids giving the impression of being a church and insists that all its staff members join local churches in their area. It may also be that those who participate in CWLF and belong to a local church will receive a more balanced diet of spiritual nurture. This is especially important for families where only one member of the family is active in CWLF. The spouse and the children may need the feeding which a local church can provide. The critical factor may be that if CWLF were to settle down to being a church it would lose some of its zest and much of its flexibility for experimental ministries.

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Some Jesus People who have grown up in the church are extremely hostile and full of bitterness. They spent long years looking and did not find anything there. If the churches had something, they were not telling, these people feel. Long years were spent with no salvation offered or shared. Kenneth Keniston has written of the great hostility the alienated young often have toward their families when they had looked to them for something they never received. Occasionally this hostility comes to the surface in private conversations. There is, however, no church baiting in CWLF and the churches are not singled out for denunciation as they are among some Jesus groups.

There is probably a quiet disacknowledgment of the churches by many Jesus People. Reich talks about the kinds of things that happen to break the credibility of young people in the society into which they are being socialized. They notice there has never been a non-white, non-rich, non-businessman on the school's board of trustees. The straight athlete tries marijuana and notices that he neither goes crazy nor becomes criminal. He notices society's tolerance of far more harmful things and wonders why.[10] Comparable things may have happened and continue to happen to many Jesus People with respect to the churches. They are often equally unsympathetic and scornful of liberal and conservative churches.

Many in CWLF were embarrassed when they were written up in Billy Graham's Decision magazine. The theological legitimation Graham's presence gave the Nixon administration was bitterly resented. His public posture lends credence to everything Berkeley radicals customarily say about groups like CWLF. CWLF leaders are "sick at heart" at what they see as a vapid, bloodless, Christless theology in much of liberal Protestantism. They see young seminarians withering from lack of deep spiritual experience and frustrated by constant contact with professors for whom theology is a head-trip and whose hearts show no evidence of a personal relationship with God in Jesus Christ. They resent what they see as loveless, legalistic fundamentalism and humanistic, Bible-less, liberal Protestantism.

Yet some in CWLF wish for a closer relationship with the churches because they see there a permanence and ubiquity which CWLF does not and never will have. They see a long-term nurturing institution. They see a community which is not restricted to a youth culture and in which all ages can grow into relationships with each other.

Jack once mourned, "When a brother or sister comes to the Lord on North Beach there's not one place we know to send them to find a community and get the Gospel. That's always the problem at North Beach." Such remarks, if they were made publicly, would undoubtedly offend the churches and may simply betray an ignorance of the San Francisco scene or an unwillingness to see God at work in many churches. It may be true, however, that few clergy and even fewer Christian church communities would come forward at any hour to close around those saved at North Beach with warmth, love, and long-term commitment.

There are also many styles within the Jesus movement itself which make some people in CWLF rejoice and others shy away. When a Memorial Day weekend Festival of the Sun was being planned to bring together in the Santa Cruz mountains Jesus People from up and down the West Coast, some in CWLF could not relate to it. A surprisingly small number went to the Festival, perhaps ten people. Frank of Street Theater said at a heads of ministries meeting, "I'm just not into that at all. I praise the Lord for them and wish them well, but it's not for me. My wife would really freak out if she went." When Bob dermurred, Frank said, "Your wife would freak out, too, Bob." Bob said, "I know. That's why we've scheduled a visit to some friends down there to coincide with the Festival. My wife can stay there while I run back and forth."

On the other front is the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley. At one Family Meeting someone heard the magic initials GTU mentioned and asked what it was. "It's a group of seminaries on Holy Hill above the campus virtually all sold out to secular-liberal theology. They have the Earle Lectures every year when famous liberals come in to speak. We need a lot of prayer for over there. They know all the terms, but they are emptied of content. Pray that the Spirit make their theology come alive, that they know the real Father. Last year a couple of ministers received Christ after our testimony at the Earle Lectures." "Yeah, I heard that too," someone added. "We want everyone to be able to see the contrast between light and darkness."

Once some brothers from CWLF were to appear on a panel at Pacific School of Religion, one of the participating seminaries in the GTU. At the Family Meeting there was prayer for them and mention of the hostile atmosphere they would encounter as they went to testify to seminarians.

An intern at First Presbyterian in 1972 proposed a dialogue between the GTU and CWLF. It was probably easier to sell the GTU on the idea. Letters to the GTU student paper So It Goes indicated anything but hostility toward CWLF. As the day for the dialogue approached, one brother, bitterly resentful of any dialogue with the GTU and a Dallas Seminary graduate himself, prayed at the Family Meeting a long prayer: He spoke of the coming "confrontation" with the GTU and beseeched God to "keep us from flinching, help us put on the weapons of warfare." The prayer mentioned that Jesus did not shrink from saying what was necessary to the scribes and Pharisees and called them whited sepulchres very forthrightly. Yet Nicodemus had come later to Jesus by night. If only one Nicodemus from the GTU came around, the confrontation would be worth it. The sentiments expressed in this prayer were by no means shared by the entire group. Most expressed delight at the chance to dialogue with student and faculty representatives from the GTU.

> The dialogue was held on November 17, 1972. Before the dialogue began someone in CWLF whispered to me, perhaps not knowing that I was a GTU doctoral candidate, "We've been prayed for for thirty minutes already. The Lord's going to be praised in spite of all these kooks." About one hundred people were in the audience in one of the larger rooms at First Presbyterian Church, perhaps twenty of them older people. The dialogue began at 3:10 p.m., with one GTU panel member still not present. The intern at First Presbyterian moderated. Jack Sparks was referred to as the co-founder of CWLF and was always referred to as Doctor, which, of course, he is, but no one in CWLF has ever thought of referring to him in that manner. Perhaps this was a kind attempt to lend him status or to recognize him as an equal. An assistant pastor at First Presbyterian opened the dialogue with prayer. Jack, Susan, and David were representing CWLF. Professor Durwood Foster of Pacific School of Religion and two students represented the GTU. One was called at the last minute to take the place of Professor David Willis of the Presbyterian San Francisco Theological Seminary, who did not appear.

The prayer was grateful for the One Body, thankful that people could recognize many parts to it, asked for light rather than heat, the ability to understand all our brothers and sisters, said the dialogue might be important for the days ahead, and asked that it would honor God and in the long run help all of us. It finally begged the Spirit to be at work in us.

The moderator said the purpose was to be more intelligently informed about the other group. It is not fundamentally a debate. It is not the GTU vs. CWLF. In some ways it is comparing apples and oranges. Mostly the purpose is to share insights, where we're coming from. Keep this spirit in mind.

Jack began, with a voice as thin and insecure as any had ever heard from him. Eventually he warmed to the occasion and acted the part people were familiar with. He said he was not very well acquainted with the GTU, had not spent any time there, that CWLF had not attempted to learn too much about the religious establishment because they were not called to that. He traced the beginnings of CWLF in Berkeley and related it to the fact that they had seen no movement to the historical Jesus within the youth movements in Berkeley. If the churches had tried to convert the culture, CWLF wanted to bring individuals into a relationship with the living God. There were no models for what they wanted to do and they trusted God to make them free and creative. He talked about the early Christian houses, the leafleting, their presence in People's Park, the evolution of Right On, and some thoughts on not abdicating a literature ministry to the secular world.

He described a positive belief in the validity of Scripture as God's Word when he began to talk about foundations. He saw the Scriptures as earthy, straight words to common people, not for scholars, and noted the development of CWLF's paraphrase, Letters to Street Christians.

He talked about marriages he had performed, the establishment of families, and noted that some CWLF brothers and sisters would not be welcome in polite society. He talked about heartaches and hassles, about conversions from heroin. He mentioned CWLF has about thirty staff members, who are paid a subsistence, "not wages between $500 and $1,500 a month as Seminary professors would get." He mentioned other ministries at CWLF, the role of women, the fact that God had put together their staff. He was very calm, mellow, unimportant, self-demeaning. He talked warmly and enthusiastically about CWLF.

Professor Foster began by acknowledging the absurdity of the idea that he could represent the GTU. He saluted the occasion and praised God for its happening. He had seen Right On from time to time but did not know much about CWLF. He said he was guilty for not attempting more persistently to relate to CWLF.

He wanted to sound a note of gratitude for CWLF. "You may be feeling that the GTU looks rather superciliously and disdainfully at groups like CWLF. By and large and on the whole, there is a

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sense of appreciation for the vitality and endeavor of such groups." People on the academic side were surprised that an arid secularism was being invaded by Jesus Christ.

He liked the four words in CWLF's name. It was a forthright witness to Jesus Christ. The world is God's creation. There were parts of the world CWLF was into in far more realistic and effective ways than the GTU. Jesus Christ does set people free. In the unintended pun of the year, he said, "Both of us are seeking to come abreast of women's affairs." He deeply shared the purposes the name CWLF suggested.

The task of the GTU was to prepare ministers to share the mission of Jesus Christ in the world, to promote the enterprise of Christian scholarship, to provide a framework of exploration for people seeking purpose in life to which they can wholeheartedly commit themselves. Some students in the GTU have only a tentative commitment now or are trying to work out a purpose.

However remote the GTU's technical activities might seem, underlying them was a commitment to Jesus Christ. There was a vision of the movement of the whole world summed up in Jesus Christ. When the GTU does get bogged down in the minutiae of scholarship they need to be protested against. Hopefully, no one will mistake the basic commitment even with all the shortcomings.

People in the GTU never think of themselves as Christ's whole show in the world. Theirs is not the only way or even the most important way. They do feel what they are doing has significance and has its place in the whole providence of God. They see no rivalry between what they do and witnessing in the streets. "In our personal lives, so far as we have time and talent, we recognize we should be doing that, too. We thank God for other workers in the vineyard who do their work well."

People at the GTU think what they are doing is important because they do it in obedience to Christ. They feel called to love God with the whole mind. The disciplines of scholarship are instruments and means of carrying out the summons to love God. They are emboldened by the Biblical statement "all things are yours." Scholars too can be saved. And need to be.

The GTU student spoke next. He said that the GTU and CWLF were not apples and oranges. Both have meetings every night, both meet to celebrate the Truth. They both can discover continuities and illuminate discontinuities between them. He then talked about why he chose the GTU. He listed his priorities and looked for an institution to cover them best. He has discovered that he does not have to lop off any part of his religiosity in the GTU. He decides what he wants to learn and learns it. That's a possibility at the GTU.

He noted two specific things about his own faith and its relation to the GTU. He mentioned that one can isolate sentences in the Christian tradition and build a life around them. For him, the statement was Jesus' "I am the Truth." Hence he chose the occupation of student. He considers himself a religious man and considers himself doing religious things when he is in the library. Secondly, he saw a commonality between all men and women who were religious and who expressed their Christian commitments in various ways. He hoped he had escaped apples and oranges.

Susan spoke the most movingly. In a very simple way she told the story of her previous life in the Left, her marriage to a black radical, her psychosis, her confrontation with CWLF, and her coming to Christ. The most exciting thing about her life as a Christian was being able to ask God for love to somebody and he'll give it to you. She has seen miracle after miracle. She said she was petrified to speak, did not know the language, but basically knew who was in control. She knew where to go for the answers. The audience seemed enthralled.

The next GTU student began by saying he was more favorably disposed toward CWLF than the previous two speakers (which was hard to imagine since they practically applied for honorary membership). His only two reservations, as a Lutheran, were with regard to church and sacraments. He was wary of various groups going their own way and he wondered whether CWLF saw Christ as really present in the sacrament.

David spoke last. He began by putting in a plug for the "other controversy" of the Reformation. Not between Luther and Calvin, but between Luther-Calvin and the Anabaptists. He mentioned he had a GTU library card, that he considered GTU students brothers and sisters, and remarked that he was disappointed when John Dillenberger, then President of the GTU, had "ho-hummed" justification by faith in a class on the Reformation that David had once taken.

He had seen in CWLF something unique and therefore became a part of it. He had been discouraged by what he had seen in the Jesus movement. In CWLF he had seen a unique uniting of minds and lives around the person of Christ. He was inspired and excited and driven back out into the world. He mentioned several CWLF ministries. He said he loved the expression the GTU brothers had brought up—obedience to Christ.

He thought there were some distinctions about theology, Christ, and Scripture between CWLF and GTU, though there was also diversity within CWLF. He hoped for further meeting of minds between CWLF and GTU. He looked for a long relationship from which both could prosper.

The discussion that followed was as interesting as the dialogue, and not nearly as mellow. A few insisted on saying the things that none of the speakers had cared to say. A local Baptist pastor said he was mystified by the whole dialogue, by so much agreement going on. When he had attended classes at the GTU, CWLF was always the butt of jokes. On the other hand, he had seen CWLF scalp-hunting in his parish and one person in CWLF had said he was not a Christian because he had not had the baptism of the Spirit.

Jack jumped up in excitement. "You never heard CWLF people say that. That's not at all representative of our people. I don't know where you picked it up." One CWLF staff member then arose to apologize for calling the pastor's Christianity into question.

Another pastor thought it was nice for the establishment to dialogue with the nonestablishment, possibly picking up some of its charisma. The GTU professor said seminaries are not exactly establishment. They are more serving under the Word of God than serving the churches and hence can be more prophetic.

The brother from CWLF who had prayed against the GTU began to press the GTU professor. He wondered about the basis for unity when a Unitarian Seminary could be included. The GTU admitted the question of unity was unresolved and seemed a little embarrassed about the Unitarians. The brother wondered what the GTU meant by scholarship and suggested that GTU scholarship might be called into question by him for its biased and false presuppositions. He was sure GTU was weaseling on its supposed high view of Scripture.

A Hebrew-Christian commented that he saw the GTU searching for truth and CWLF saying they had found it. He wondered what it meant to call oneself a Christian.

David talked about CWLF's great concern for learning. He mentioned that Crucible is offering courses in Greek, church history, Old and New Testament history and theology. There were plans to offer Hebrew.

When the dialogue was over many thought the GTU had sounded remarkably like CWLF and vice versa. Those familiar with first ecumenical encounters were not surprised at that. There was general goodwill. Both groups expressed the hope that it might happen again. There was not quite the lingering at the door after the first date—when will I see you again? As a matter of fact, the groups have not met together again since that time.

At the next Family Meeting Jack talked about the dialogue in different tones. There was some laughter and derision at the very mention of the GTU. Jack noted that after two and a half years the GTU had finally decided to notice CWLF. He said the goal of the dialogue from CWLF's side was that people might see God's light, fruit and consequences versus a theological system devoid of reality. But he said they didn't want to polarize but to just present themselves. "In the interaction and the questions from the floor I began to see the GTU on the defensive. I think we found some friends. I hope it may be possible to teach a few courses over at the GTU. Don Heinz [the present writer] is not the only Christian over there. I hope we can be some light over there. We have the foundation they're looking for. The Christ of the Scriptures. They knew very well what we meant by a high view of Scripture. There was good interaction. I wouldn't choose an experience like that every day. I felt like we were being examined." Later during the prayer time, someone prayed for certain at the GTU, "Show mercy to them, lead them from darkness to light, change their minds about Christ the Messiah, revealed and accurately recorded in the Scriptures. For students like Don, that he not be intimidated by the intellectual atmosphere and bring a witness to Christ to the students."

The dialogue with the GTU, or perahps the discussion within CWLF before and following the dialogue, and other encounters between CWLF and theologians raise some questions. Jesus People often seem threatened and angry when confronted with theologians, or even when they think of them. Are they incapable of debating on their higher ground and so become angry? Are the Jesus People thinking that the Jesus they know and experience is really what theology is all about? Do they resent the sophistication and privilege in speaking about God seemingly reserved for theologians? Do they feel like general practitioners dialoguing with specialists at a University clinic? Is it that GTU theology has no experience credentials?

To the extent that it is the latter, the feelings of the Jesus People are no different from feelings generally held in the counterculture with regard to professors. There is little concern whether a person is an instructor or a full professor. Do his experiences, does the kind of life he has been leading give him the right to be here, to teach us? What are his experiences, his feelings, his life credentials? What has he done? (Not what has he written.) It is not dissimilar, either, from the invectives that radicals sometimes hurl at establishment liberals. The implication is that people like GTU theologians talk endlessly about God with empty words. Jesus People experience him, know him, talk to him, and live out his presence in their lives and witnessing.

On the other hand, there are a few Jesus People, disproportionately represented in CWLF, who think they can beat the GTU at its own game. They aspire to learned theology, to intellectual defenses of the faith. Their heroes are C. S. Lewis and Francis Schaeffer. When they play theological games they find something peculiar happening, which infuriates them. People coming from the other side, the academic side, may say to them, "Don't play our game. We can beat you at it anyway. Besides we're bored with it. Talk about your experiences. That's fresh to us. Talk about the love of Jesus you feel in your midst. Talk about your witnessing, your personal relationship to the Father. You only sound argumentative, strident, and harsh when you start arguing theology. Your winsomeness is lost."

Notes to Chapter IV

[1] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City: Doubleday, 1966), p. 128.

[2] Ibid., p. 146.

[3] Cf. the recent efforts in the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, to enforce one theological viewpoint and treat alleged reality slippage (change) by centralization of power and strong bureaucratic control.

[4] Rev. Ike is a flamboyant and highly successful black preacher, media personality, and long-distance guru who convinces people that giving money to him gets them money from God, that the lack of money is the root of all evil, and that God wants people to be happy and successful. Nothing succeeds like success.

[5] Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 244-247.

[6] John 1:35-42.

[7] Yet Linda Meissner had been one of the most important leaders of the early Jesus movement in the Northwest.

[8] A great variety of groups came to be identified with the Jesus movement. Some were direct extensions of particular denominations, particularly Pentecostal groups. Many were indebted, in one way or another, to mainstream fundamentalism or evangelicalism. Some were new mutations, arising with the Jesus movement, as did the Children of God, or prior to the Jesus movement but utilizing the media focus on that movement for their own purposes. The Way is an ultra-dispensationalist sect led by Victor Wierwille and headquartered in New Knoxville, Ohio. Wierwille's movement precedes the Jesus movement. He claims to be the only true preacher of the Bible since St. Paul.

[9] Later Resurrection City began staging its meetings in the large Pauley Ballroom in the Student Union building. They grew increasingly sophisticated in their ministry and styled their approach to the UC Berkeley student body, attempting to free themselves from the anti-intellectualism often associated with the Assembly of God tradition. They were heavily funded by various Assembly of God churches, which saw them as a direct missionary outreach program in Berkeley.

[10] Charles Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 353.

CHAPTER V

MAKING CHRIST AN ISSUE

A social movement may be defined as a "collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or some previous condition to be restored," and as a "collective enterprise to establish a new order of life."[1] It is clear that a movement must develop goals, and tactics appropriate to the goals. Martin Luther deemed the posting of ninety-five theses on the church door at Wittenberg an appropriate tactic for furthering his goals. A steady course of pamphleteering furthered the early Protestant Reformation. Many Christian reform movements of the Middle Ages were eventually institutionalized as orders, but they had had a variety of goals, often social, and a variety of tactics to achieve them. Institutionalization was only the crown of success (or failure) to effective tactics and resonant goals. As Billy Graham tries to call the United States and the world to repentance, crusades and extensive use of the media are his chief tactics.

Whether a movement succeeds and flourishes will relate to its goals and whether those goals resonate with their times. William McLoughlin has written that every revival with a major impact succeeded because of leaders who could "embody in their colorful and eloquent sermons neither more nor less than the spirit of their times."[2] The future of a movement is also related to its tactics. Are they appropriate to the goals? Will they win a hearing? Do they offend people? Do they generate repression or enthusiasm? Are there charismatic or at least energetic and talented people to make the most of the tactics? Do the tactics change as the scene changes? Are they too quickly institutionalized into irrelevance? Do the times pass the movement by?

Christian groups are accustomed to calling their tactics ministries. Such a term presumably calls attention to God as the author and director. It may also be misleading. Professional church planners must continually advise churches to see their ministry and mission in terms of tactics and goals, forcing the questions of relevance and appropriateness which the more sacred word ministries allows to go unasked.

In this chapter we look at several important ministries which have grown out of CWLF's presence in Berkeley since 1969. In addition to the questions already posed in the second paragraph of this chapter another cluster of questions is also significant: Is there any agreed-upon goal to which all these ministries (tactics) contribute? How broadly would such a goal have to be stated? Is there a coalition of goals, as there is a coalition of ministries? Is there any obvious connection between the CWLF ministries? Are they at cross purposes with one another? Is CWLF attracting people who can creatively staff present ministries and develop newer and more appropriate ones? Are people in and around CWLF in agreement as to what CWLF should be doing in Berkeley and how it should be doing it?

Right On

The single ministry to which CWLF has dedicated major resources, energy, and talent is its newspaper. Right On was the first Christian underground newspaper to appear in the Jesus movement and its circulation has brought no little fame and reputation to CWLF among Jesus People and evangelicals throughout the country. It is the flagship in CWLF's armada and is identified with it in a way that no other ministry is.

We have already seen that people editing Right On, or significantly affecting its direction, are likely to be in our group three (in Chapter II), or at least moving in that direction. They are likely to be self-actualizing, to have strong egos, to have a variety of commitments, and to be without total commitment to the narrow CWLF community. In the next chapter we shall also see that they are likely to be culture-affirming and moving in the direction of developing a positive worldview. At the end of this discussion of Right On we may be in a position to ask whether such people are moving in the same direction that CWLF is moving, whether they have diverted CWLF's original direction, whether they have introduced the concept of a coalition of diverse goals and tactics in order to make room for the mission they saw for themselves, whether Right On and CWLF are simply moving with the times.

Within days of the arrival of the first missionaries in April 1969 they began frankly copying the tactics of political radicals. To what end? They watched the radicals' success in raising issues and making issues. They were determined to make Christ an issue. They leafleted crowds, they stapled up posters, they distributed handbills on campus, they elbowed their way into meetings, they dared to stand up and be intrusive. Within three months they issued the first underground paper of the Jesus movement. The July 1969 issue's lead article, "Barb Bared," reported that Max Scheer's employees on the Berkeley Barb were striking him over the issue of low wages and excessive profits for Scheer. Right On suggested that Scheer's politics apparently did not begin at home. That article was to set a style that Right On followed for the next two years at least. It exploited the difficulties that radicals were often having, pointed at the discrepancy between their speeches and their actions, and often suggested that an inner new man created by the Father through the Son was the only answer. The issue carried three parables and the Biblical story of Zacheus climbing into a tree to catch sight of Jesus updated to Telegraph Avenue. A direct evangelistic message, "Let's Get One Thing Straight," would appear in many future issues as well. It described Christianity not as churches or organizations or institutions but as the kind of people and the quality of life exhibited by the first-century "love revolutionaries." It was an encounter from without with a new quality of life, an experience of Jesus Christ and his power come to live in one's life, getting unhung from one's past. There was a simple means of initiation into that kind of life. You just said, "God, if you're real, if you're there, make yourself real to me." The only assumption necessary was that God would be fair enough to reward those who genuinely wanted to experience him. The greater portion of the issue was given to the Berkeley Liberation Program (printed at the end of Chapter I), which was nearly a point-by-point rebuttal or alternative to a radical program which had just hit the streets. There was one photograph and one piece of graphics, a view of three Berkeley people with a "barb" hooked through them. That first issue was nearly single-handedly written and produced by Jack Sparks or at most by Jack and one or two brothers. Eventually some of the new converts who were coming into CWLF began to help with the paper.

The second issue, which like the first carried no date, no publisher, no information about who was producing it, suggested that a lot of people, presumably the "common people" of the streets and the campus, were hated by the police and used and ignored by the radical elites. There was also an exposure of fascism among the Black Panthers and the uselessness and self-destructiveness of their violence trip. A long interview with Mark Hatfield presumably suggested what Right On thought Christians in politics should be like. The evangelistic message appeared again, this time with a box number to which interested people could write. An article on life-style suggested voting with your money by choosing products carefully, not getting hung up on materialism and not selling yourself out to advertising. This was the beginning of many articles, leaflets, and booklets which would follow in the next two years in which CWLF tried to give simple help and advice, unrelated in any overt way to any evangelistic message, to the street people. The "People's Medical Handbook," praised in the Last Whole Earth Catalog, is the most successful example of this. Although CWLF is very proud of this booklet, there is little effort to distribute it after 1972. The last page of Right On carried a full-page graphic: a picture of Jesus with a large "Wanted" sign and a bill of particulars. This graphic, drawn by a new Jesus Freak in CWLF, was to go around the world and be printed in every conceivable form. CWLF received no compensation for this, since the paper was not and is not copyrighted, nor is CWLF ever mentioned in connection with this famous poster. Actually, this poster seems to be a part of the cultural heritage and has appeared at various times in recent history to legitimate radical movements.

The third issue showed the progression from revolutionary idealism to establishment authoritarianism via seven cleverly drawn cartoons. The Panthers are again attacked via a cartoon with the caption: "Our sympathy goes to Chairman Bobby . . . how can he enjoy his Eldorado in jail?" This is another of the attacks on radicals so characteristic of the early years of Right On. What was the point? To prepare for a message about a "third way," neither establishment nor radical. That was the stated intention. What latent functions such attacks served one can only guess. Certainly two of the three men who first came to Berkeley to found CWLF were conservative-to-rightist and had often expressed their concern about the directions that radicals were taking with respect to the country and specifically the youth culture. A radical, while perhaps admitting the validity of some of these attacks, would probably consider them cheap shots and find it difficult to distinguish them from any of the clever things William Buckley or, on the immediate scene, the editor of the Berkeley Gazette might write. Whatever partial validity they might have had for the radicals, they would have seemed obviously and definitely counterrevolutionary. Such attacks certainly also represented the real frustrations people in CWLF were beginning to feel as they attempted to make Christ an issue in the student and radical scene. There were shouting and shoving matches with SDS, and not a few occasions where the famous radical participatory democracy deliberately excluded any obviously Christian voice. If one were right of center to begin with, this seeming fascism on the part of radical leaders could cause tremendous frustration, anger, and retaliation in print. Nevertheless, CWLF never sought and never seems to have received any significant Right Wing money. It was not too long before some of the small support they were receiving was cut off because Jack "seemed to be cutting himself off from the good people of America."

That same issue, however, also carried a brief news item on a Soviet writer who had renounced Communism and a jibe at Women's Liberation entitled "Donna Quixote and the Impossible Dream." There was a contrast between God's revolution, which changes people inside, and the new Left which was characterized as not interested in fighting racism, poverty, or oppression but in using issues to build their movements. Whether it was clear to people who read these issues that CWLF rejected much of the Establishment with equal vigor or whether CWLF in fact did reject much of the Establishment with equal vigor are open questions. The answer to the former is probably no. Many today believe that CWLF never succeeded in any real dialogue with radicals and that such issues as these precluded any such dialogue. Yet because CWLF was on the streets and peppering the campus, they gained a certain grudging respect from some radicals who may have admired their pesky give-and-take. The presence of CWLF on the streets and at countless meetings must balance any abstract conclusion about the message of Right On in that first year.

Subsequent issues introduced Onisi Mouse (presumably an esoteric take-off on the New Testament character Onesimus), a cartoon character who had wry comments on the Berkeley scene. The issue of sex and Women's Liberation received increasing treatment and with a much more positive attitude. Of course, the paper decried the "sexploitation" of North Beach and the Berkeley Barb as a chief enemy of Women's Liberation. A self-consciousness seemed to develop in which Right On identified with the simple, common people, whoever they were—while being attacked by Right and Left, and by the churches as well. The counterculture is definitly seen as "our" counterculture. How authentic that consciousness was many people wondered. Of course, some of the people in the counterculture who had joined CWLF were doing some of that writing. It is also probably true that Jack Sparks at least had become a countercultural person. That certainly seems true by 1973. It is not possible to say he is pretending or trying to be one of the kids or is an overage teenybopper, as Lowell Streiker suggested in his book on the Jesus movement.[3] Such comments are not uncommon reflections of establishment incredulity at someone older than thirty being countercultural. They may suggest the writer's reopening of old conversations with self that had been considered answered or shelved as no longer useful.

The sixth issue was the first to carry an issue number and the seventh was the first to carry a date (November 1969) and an address, 2409 Channing Way. The eighth issue carried a volume and an issue number, was dated 15 December 69, and said "Published by the Christian World Liberation Front." These issues began to carry testimonies by new Jesus People, announcements of rock concerts of Jesus music and other events in the Jesus movement, and analyses of such "rival" movements as Meditation, Krishna, and the occult. The ninth issue, 15 January 70, had a message from the editors, who were identified as Coni, Lynda, and Jerry. About this time the graphics became increasingly psychedelic in style, and this continued for the next six months. There were invitations to subscribe for twelve issues (six months) for $2.00, though the paper never succeeded in coming out twice a month. Under Jerry's influence there were more articles on sex, Women's Liberation, the occult, and mysticism.

There were continually parables which attempted to present the meaning of the Christian life within the contemporary youth culture, dissection of radical goals and strategies, the presentation of Christianity as another way. The twelfth and fourteenth issues carried ads for Jesus workshirts, sweatshirts, and buttons, a kind of ad which a 1973 letter to prospective advertisers specifically rejected. In the thirteenth issue, 10 April 70, Campus Crusade's famous four spiritual laws appeared in an altered, hip, countercultural version:

1. God loves you and has the heaviest life-style for you.
2. Every person has gone his own way and is separated from God, so he cannot know and experience God's love and life-style.

3. Jesus Christ is God's bridge. He makes it possible for you to know God's love and have his life-style.
4. When you receive Jesus Christ as liberator and leader, you will know God's love and have his life-style.[4]

What is interesting here is the friendly imitation of Crusade. By 1973 one could often hear Crusade put down in CWLF circles and the four spiritual laws ridiculed, not for their content, but as a means of speaking to people about Christ and the Christian life. Already in 1970 CWLF was definitely developing a style quite unlike that of Campus Crusade and was receiving criticism for it. Yet here are the four spiritual laws. The change of the familiar Savior and Lord in the fourth law to "liberator" and "leader" became almost a CWLF trademark and appeared again and again in subsequent CWLF literature. In the sixteenth issue, June 1970, the spiritual laws were again paraphrased, much more elaborately, and there was an attempt at a Christian apologetic.

The major impression of that first year is of a paper which grew directly out of the streets and the campus. There appears some sympathy with the counterculture of the streets and some kind advice for it and continuous direct confrontation with the political radicals. By 1973 one might argue that the cultural radicals were a more serious rival to Christianity and posed a greater threat to any evangelical Christianity than did political radicals. It is probably not self-styled "culturistas" who were being befriended in 1960 and 1970, however, but simple and often grubby street people. The paper is at once boldly innovative—there was nothing like it in Christian circles, and the other Jesus papers which

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almost immediately began to follow were really quite different and often geared more to Christian teeny-boppers—and quite amateurish. Few are more willing to admit the latter than Jack Sparks. He has talked innumerable times on the subject of Christian literature and calls attention to that first year as the time when a small group of people, stumbling and bumbling, began to create a concept of what Christian literature in a countercultural scene should accomplish and how.

The first year's issues continually present Christianity as something rarely tried and dare people to take God up on what he offers. The Christian revolution is contrasted with that which radicals promulgate and is seen as the only effective revolution because it changes people's hearts and lives and does not just tinker with structures. As the year went on, Christianity was presented not only as an alternative to radical politics but also to rival "religious" groups. This was the time, more than in 1973 and 1974, when the Berkeley area was a veritable marketplace of gods and CWLF began to see the necessity of a Christian apologetic which would present Christianity with increasing skill and dissect the opposition. Nevertheless, those early attempts at apologetic are a far cry from the directions the paper later took when evangelicals schooled in such niceties began to arrive. Whether this presentation of Christianity as a viable alternative was of any theological significance and whether it reflected any carefully thought-out position are questions we shall have to take up in the next chapter.

Every issue of Right On in the first year consisted of four pages, always the same size. The masthead continually changed, and no one style

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of layout emerged. The graphics became increasingly complex, but occasionally the layout seemed to have been done by someone not quite together.

After the June 1970 issue, another did not appear until October 27. It was labeled Volume 1, Number 17. This issue and several before it were identified as coming "From the Catacombs of Berkeley," and there was no mention of CWLF. There were few graphics and the middle pages were solid print, containing a revolutionary catechism on one side and a point-by-point refutation or alternative offering a spiritual revolution. There was a long apologetic which consisted of little more than one Bible passage after another.

The November 19, 1970 issue was labeled Volume 2, Number 18. There was a new masthead, which would continue for the next few issues. There were articles which began to look like reviews, one an analysis of psychiatry. A testimony suggested what apparently was very common in the Jesus movement—one doper amazed to hear a former compatriot talking about Jesus, getting interested himself, and becoming a Christian. In the succeeding issues there began to appear attempts to converse with members of the counterculture in as natural a way as possible. There were no put-downs, no high-blown apologetics, just attempts to answer the questions the editors apparently were hearing on the streets and on campus. These issues began to carry more reviews, of increasing length: Catch 22, Five Easy Pieces, Jesus Christ Superstar. There were several articles which dealt with nature and the ambiguity of looking there for spiritual meaning, one of which reported on the fires sweeping

California and another on the Los Angeles earthquake. The great evangelical oasis in Switzerland, L'Abri, was mentioned for the first time in Right On, as someone wrote a testimony of how she found the Lord there.

Whenever CWLF thought of some new ministry or just some new tactic, they operated under a front name. We have already mentioned the Committee To Investigate Billy Graham, which CWLF formed to encourage people to go to his Oakland Crusade. When a few artistic people became Christians through CWLF there appeared the "Christian Revolutionary Art Center." Pamphlets advertised in Right On usually carried a coupon addressed to the Christian Information Committee.

There continued to be the flashes of humor based on anachronism which Jesus People delighted in. There was a long article called "Travels of Paul and Barney," which depicted the apostle Paul and his missionary companion Barnabus winging around Salt Lake City in a VW bus, picking up hitchhikers, inviting them to Jesus raps, etc.

There began to appear the results of little polls that CWLF had been conducting on campus. These are the polls or questionnaires referred to in Chapter IV which few in CWLF by 1973 bothered to use. Such polls typically began with a few questions regarding a current issue, such as the SDS march on ROTC. The polls usually ended with the same three questions: Do you think the human race has the ability to solve its problems? In a poll of seventy-three campus walkers reported in the December 17, 1970 issue, 73 percent said yes, and 23 percent said no. In a poll of sixty students in the February 3, 1971 issue, 71 percent said yes and 29 percent said no. Do you believe there could be a higher spiritual power, which we might call God, who could help us if we would turn to him? On the first poll, 36 percent said yes, 64 percent said no. On the second poll, 63 percent said yes, 37 percent said no. If such a God exists would you like to know him personally? On the first poll, 66 percent said yes, 30 percent said no. On the second poll, 85 percent said yes, 15 percent said no.

CWLF activity schedules began to appear regularly, listing all the times and locations of various kinds of Bible raps, usually about seven or eight each week. The poetry which appeared was often straightforwardly didactic, but occasionally whimsical, colorful, and full of interesting images which one could find elsewhere in poetry coming out of the counterculture. In these latter poems the question of Christ or God was hinted at, but not pressed, and there were such circumlocutions as "up" or "him."

The last page was reserved for a full graphic of some sort, usually with very few words. One had a picture of a Jesus Festival and said "GODSTOCK." Another had a fuzzy picture of a great cathedral and the caption, "Free All Spiritual Prisoners."

There still occurred occasional pieces directed at Communism, one being the report of an interview with some young people who had swum away from Red China and another a protest against Russian repression of religious freedom. At the same time a story appeared entitled "Jesus Rejected by Two Orange County Sheriffs." An editorial note said that the article had appeared to show that every and any person needs Jesus.

It was the story of two Jesus Freak hitchhikers who had been stopped and questioned and who had attempted to witness. Articles attacking the Left did not have editorial notes appended.

A piece of political analysis appeared in the April 1, 1971 issue (Volume 2, Number 23). There was an attempt in Oakland to reduce drastically the size of the ghetto area Merritt College and move many of its courses and services to the hills. The article suggested there was probably no point in fighting for Merritt. People should expend their energies starting a whole new kind of school, independent of the tax structure and of typical teaching and learning situations, meeting in any available place, such as living rooms and churches.

There had begun in 1971 to appear more and more articles which were an intellectual presentation and defense of the Christian faith, many following the kind of reasoning one might find at L'Abri or Wheaton College. It was during this time that Sharon, the present editor, arrived and began to write articles, especially reviews and sympathetic statements on Women's Liberation—the latter a far cry from those that had appeared in the first year. In the spring of 1971 David also arrived.

The May 1, 1971 issue was a dramatic change. There were eight pages, the layout was much neater and more effective, a front page listed the inner contents. There were open letters to the War Crimes Committee and to the President, the former a thoughtful article connecting morality with absolute standards and suggesting that equally great crimes of psychological and spiritual murder were going unquestioned. The latter

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was a homey piece of advice to the President by a Berkeley Jesus person suggesting that the country start recycling centers. More and more letters to the editor appeared. These received thoughtful answers which were never put-downs, and which often invited the writer to write again or to get in touch personally with the Right On staff. It is possible to hypothesize that as the staff began more and more to produce evangelical-intellectual apologetics and the paper became less and less "of the street," they sought means of human contact and personal witness in other ways—namely, through printing letters to the editor which received thoughtful answers, through little invitations to drop by Dwight House and dialogue with the Right On staff, and through personal statements from the staff in little columns which were evangelistic in a low-key way.

The editors were also fond of printing letters which were thoughtful, searching, and friendly critiques of the Jesus movement, letters which helpfully reflected the emerging view of the editors. One such letter reflected the remarkable lack of legalism and free rejoicing in the Gospel which has been quite typical of many of the leaders of CWLF but which is much less noticeable elsewhere in the Jesus movement and is scarcely noticeable at all among many tight-lipped evangelicals and most fundamentalists. The letter, which undoubtedly was resonant with David and Sharon's views and which was printed in the May 1971 issue in which they took primary responsibility as editors, is as follows:

Dear Editor,

I want to lay down my feelings about what turns me off about "Jesus People." It is something I feel qualified for since I have been both inside and outside of the movement. There are valid criticisms of it and there is no reason to keep them hidden because Christians should be the visible proof that Jesus is real.

I'll concentrate on five major criticisms, trying to avoid personalities and to examine errors that are more or less common.

Many Christians never listen! To many people it must seem that simultaneous with accepting Christ, a "Jesus person" goes "deaf." Which is to say that he is always willing to talk at a person but rarely with them. In some cases this is supposed to be a sign that the Christian is obsessed with truth and cannot endure falsehood. There are other equally applicable descriptions: pig-headedness, lack of concern, lack of common courtesy, unwillingness to learn where the person is at. In my experience those who are least willing to listen are those who basically doubt their faith and are not willing to take the trouble to learn the proper answers to someone's reasonable questions.

There is another side to this coin. And that is the way Christians get hung up with the people that argue for argument's sake. These types of "discussions" happen a lot and go on for many hours. But it is rare that a single word was heard by either party.

Some Christians (unconsciously?) put on a "false front" to those they witness to. They feel obligated to show themselves off as "finished creations" (which they're not), in which all hassles have either been solved or eliminated. They are so eager to express the new life within them that they mistakenly feel that there must be an immediate, radical shift in their life-style. This is both impossible and unnecessary. There will be a change, but it is one that will be dictated by God above and not by what you feel other Christians expect you to be. There are ways of applying group pressure and this can make a temporary outward change in behavior but the heart remains unconvinced. How many times must we be reminded that Jesus did not come to make us conform to a new human standard of conduct?

Some Christians seem obsessed with making people "good." I've lost count of the times I've heard a Christian tell a non-Christian to give up something, whether it is crime, dope, or sex. Don't we know that there is not one person who is separated from God because of premarital sex? Or that there is not one person who will be saved because he refrained from it?

Only one thing will condemn a person, and that is an unwillingness to exercise the potential that exists for a relationship with God, through the sacrifice of Christ and the only thing that will save a person is the desire to have their relationship—a desire strong enough to make a person give back his life to the One who gave it to him, in order to have life forever.

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> Christians are sometimes tools of the establishment. I hope I never hear another Christian claim that acceptance of the teachings of Jesus is acceptance of the status quo. Actually, the opposite is closer to the truth. What it means is rejection of the human way of doing things.
>
> We have seen over and over again that human solutions to problems usually means the creation of worse problems. Acceptance of the teachings of Christ means rejecting the "pick yourself up by your own bootstraps" concept which is propagated by right and left. There is a real sense in which man is constantly the victim of forces beyond his control. God's fundamental fairness is shown by His willingness to assist us in our weakness. He will be always and only our ally; if we depend on human defenses they must crumble.
>
> This does not mean that the world is unimportant, as some Christians believe. The "hands off" attitude of many Christians where injustice is concerned, has been a stumbling block to the propagation of the Gospel. This means taking a stand against racism, apathy, poverty and war. Oppression of any type is anti-Christian and always will be.
>
> Why should Christians concentrate on "defusing" the Left Wing? As a matter of fact there is not one reason why Christians shouldn't picket and distribute literature at governmental offices, police stations and draft boards. If the message of Christ is relevant it must cut across political persuasions, national boundaries or one's position in society.
>
> This is the end of the matter. What I don't like about Christians are traits I have seen in my own life at one time or another. I freely confess them now before God and man. And I know that God will forgive me for them because when He looks at me He will see the perfection of Jesus—because I've accepted His gift of life.
>
> Actually I dig Right On and the things you're into, because I know you avoid a lot of the things I've talked about.
>
> Thanks,
>
> Tom

That same issue carried a tribute to Malcolm X and the regret that he identified Christianity with American Christianity. "We must go back to the beginning of Christianity. . . . Go back to Jesus Christ Himself to find out about real Christianity!!" The argument of that article would sound familiar to anyone who heard and read the message of the early Social Gospel idealists in the first decades of this century. The article continued: "America has failed because it is a land occupied by fallen, sinful, self-centered men and women. It has failed the Black Man not because it has followed the person and teaching of the revolutionary Savior, Jesus Christ! It has failed because, in spite of the claims of some fellow travelers, not enough people HAVE followed Him. . . . Malcolm X got burned by a fake, not by real Christianity." The conclusion might not have rippled so easily off the tongues of those early Social Gospelers: "God holds out his hands not for your bread, but for your SELF. He wants to take your life like it is now, however messed over it may be, redeem you from your sin through the blood sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and give you a life of power and love with Heaven ahead."

The issue's back cover was a large picture of a young woman sitting in a field, perhaps thinking about life or herself. The caption: "We sing to you a new song / total liberation / the redeeming of life to life / spiritual rebirth / reconciliation to your God."

The second year of Right On, separated from the first year by three months without an issue, showed a new paper evolving. There was far less hip talk and less direct conversation with the street. The paper did not look as if, and did not sound as if it was arising right out of the street culture. Reviews began to appear; direct, personal, low-key conversations about the faith appeared as written articles, and increasingly there were direct, fairly intellectual apologetics—from creation to the meaning of life. There was less radical-baiting, although the paper continued to carry articles critical of radical politics and its practitioners. Presumably the editors felt that the utopian balloon of radical politics as a new and better way for mankind had to be deflated in order to prepare the way for the hearing of a Christian message which presented itself as a way beyond Left and Right. If this was a somewhat straighter and certainly more intellectual evangelicalism, it decidedly was not an Establishment line. Right On never sounded like Billy Graham, and the culture which produced Right On and its style was distinct from Establishment evangelicalism.

In 1971 Judson Press brought out a booklet called The Street People, which was "Selections from Right On, Berkeley's Underground Student Newspaper." In it were selections from the first year and part of the second year of Right On, by Right On staff. Right On no longer looks very much like those selections in that booklet, but the introduction to that booklet describes the situation from which the first papers came:

> The idea came out of Berkeley where a movement to Jesus was just getting started in the street scene. Among the brothers and sisters in the Father's forever family who lived and served there, the concept of literature geared to the language and culture had begun to take form. So when we got some bread and some stories together, we put out a paper. . . . Right On became a part of the scene, just like the other underground newspapers. . . . The idea caught on, and there are now Christian underground newspapers coming out of the youth culture all over the country. They show that something is happening among the youth of America that hadn't been expected. Right in the midst of a radical left movement and a heavy dope thing, lots of kids all over the country are finding that Jesus is the answer to their need and turning to Him as their Liberator and Leader. This new thing is not really led by the institutional church though some of the kids are into it and some are not. . . . [Right On is] all put together by brothers and sisters who were living among the people they were writing to.[5]

The writer hoped that the readers' own creativity might be liberated so that they could relate in the same way to the people among whom they lived and worked.

A Letter to America on its birthday in the July 4, 1971 issue set a tone which would be increasingly characteristic of the editors of Right On. The radicals were right, but they did not go far enough. In the issues through the end of 1971 there were reviews of current music, of Alan Watts, Future Shock, C. S. Lewis, McCabe and Mrs. Miller, and the work of Gabriel Marcel. Jerry began a series on astrology, Buddhism was examined, Jews for Jesus was described through an interview.

The September 1971 issue (Volume 3, Number 28) was the first to carry the names of the editors and of the staff. A brief statement appeared above the staff names: "A publication seeking to present Jesus the Lord and creatively bring every thought into subjection to Him." More and more articles began to be signed. They never had been in the first year and rarely in the second. That same issue carried an open letter to Ramparts magazine, following the publication in its pages of James Nolan's stinging and funny rebuke of the Jesus movement.

> Dear Sirs:
>
> I wondered when your interviewer came to our office how Ramparts would handle an a-political movement.
>
> Jimmy Nolan's emotional intensity and childhood imagery were a surprise, e.g., "thundering fear of hell and a candy-sweet promise of heaven." Less surprising was the fact that although we made it clear that we are not supported by the right-wing or any other political faction, allusions were made to "Jesus people with big Billy James Hargis friend-do-you-know-the-Lord grins." In this way a nonexistent relationship was implied.
>
> Then there was the identification of evangelical Christianity with this "Nation of Ours." The fact is that most Jesus Freaks do not consider America Christian, as expressed by one brother who has written on his car, "God Judge America."
>
> Right On was specifically lambasted for reducing everything to a religious message. But any deep treatment of the human condition necessarily becomes concerned with the core of man, his motivations—soul, will and spirit. This level of analysis, if not overtly religious, always has religious implications.

> It seems that a more superficial and arbitrary treatment of humanity is political analysis. Even Sartre's analysis of a Bolshevik cell group in the play Dirty Hands ends up asking questions of personal morality. The hero can't decide if killing a certain man would be good for the party (a political issue) and ends up shooting him anyway, because the man made love to his wife (a moral-spiritual issue).
>
> Perhaps this is the reason why good Soviet literature of late has been banned in the Soviet Union. Any good treatment of people gets into ultimate questions—questions that lie beyond politics.
>
> Sincerely Yours,
> Right On

Also in the September issue were reviews of three books on the Church, a review of Alan Watts's Berkeley lecture suggesting it was full of inconsistencies and made no ultimate sense, and a salute to laborers which included a denunciation of the rich and of materialism, based on the "early Christian brother James." The last page was Jack Sparks's unsigned answer to the Berkeley Barb's criticism of Billy Graham's recent Oakland Crusade. Sparks wrote that Graham "spoke with some wit, some insight into modern culture, and a lot to say about the Man, Jesus Christ." He suggested that Graham was not just an Establishment lackey and did not flash key words in a cheap attempt at relevance. The article, however, did suggest the ambivalence which many in CWLF felt about Graham: "Many of us either cringe or speak out at Graham's hand-holding with Nixon and others in power. But one thing has been clear in all of Graham's messages over the past two decades. He preaches a Gospel of liberation and peace, and of love and new life, through encounter and commitment to a person: Jesus Christ." The Barb was angry because Graham did not fit its pornographic exploitation of women and men, Sparks suggested. "I saw a man, many of whose personal trappings I can't get behind, working hard to present the 'old-time' Jesus' life and love in a manner which related to the multicultural audience in attendance. The Berkeley 'People's Committee to Investigate Graham' ought to bring down a verdict of 'right on' to the extent that Jesus was held up at the Crusade, and a genuine (if qualified) appreciation of Graham's efforts."

The direction that Right On would take became evident in the remaining issues of that third year. Many were devoted to a single topic: hunger, black religion, man. Others prominently featured a lead article on a topic of interest: Noah's Ark and recent quests for it, B. F. Skinner's "humanism," strategies for social change, Jews for Jesus. A regular "media" section was begun and more and more book and film reviews were featured. In a six-month period, readers of Right On could sample Edwin Hawkins ("Has Success Spoiled Edwin Hawkins?"), Mark Hatfield, Joan Baez, Jacques Ellul, B. F. Skinner, C. S. Lewis, Cabaret, Francis Schaeffer, Mennonite communalism, Sartre, Fanon, George Jackson, Dorothy Sayers, Charles Williams, Tolkien, Zen Existentialism. Regular columns were begun and appeared regularly, especially by Jerry and Jack Sparks.

The tone of Right On was being set and it has continued to the present. What would intelligent, literate, aware people be interested in reading, seeing, doing? Is there a radical Christian perspective on such a scene? Right On believed there was and attempted to portray what such a perspective was, at least from Right On's view. The hope was that the non-Christian reader would be interested in that same scene and would be interested in seeing what a Christian perspective on it might be.

The editors were able to write that the primary purpose of the paper remained to get people to know the Lord. In the March 1972 issue the editors wrote: "As 1972 is wearing on, a lot of you out there still don't know the Lord. And this, as we have said so many times, is the whole reason Right On exists: because God is there and He cares about you and has made a way for you to actually be 'born again'—to have a new life. We are not interested in pushing ourselves at all; we are interested in your getting to know the beautiful Jesus Christ. So don't put it off."

A "Have You Seen Jesus my Lord" column regularly appeared. Sometimes it was the same and talked about knowing Jesus in two, both necessary, ways: historical and existential. Often the column was new in each issue, talking about the meaning of being a Christian in different ways and from different viewpoints. When a reader wrote suggesting the Gospel should be clear on every page as in other Jesus papers, the staff replied that they wanted to avoid pat formulas and preferred to let a variety of people talk about how they had come to Christ or to present many ways of looking at what the Christian life could be. The editors self-consciously saw themselves offering a beautiful and meaningful alternative to the hate-trips and body-trips offered by their underground competitors. They tried to make clear that they did not wish to call attention to themselves as Jesus Freaks, or to getting religion, or becoming church members. In the February 1972 issue they wrote: "No, the question the Right On brothers and sisters have for you is simply 'have you seen Jesus our Lord?' We don't ask this in a superficial way

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and we don't want a quick or superficial answer. America is far too much characterized by a 'push-button' mentality, and the question 'have you seen Jesus our Lord?' deserves a careful and sensitive response." They pleaded that people would not write Christ off on the basis of bad experiences with some Christians, fellow travelers, or bandwagon opportunists, or because the educational establishment found it necessary to dismiss Jesus without a hearing. They made clear in this column and often that Christianity was not "a box of easy livin'."

To the extent that Right On succeeded and moved forward with a change and development unlike almost all other Jesus papers, it was probably the result of a group of interesting and interested people trying to produce a paper that they liked to produce, writing about the things they were into, and letting the paper become the evidence of their own hard work at developing a Christian life-style that had intellectual and spiritual integrity. Of course, there had to be an audience adjustment. If this was what Right On had become and the path it would keep taking, then semiliterate Jesus Freaks would no longer find the paper useful, Jesus-boppers who wanted the address of the nearest coffee house or the latest Christian jargon developed by older and wiser Jesus professionals would have to look elsewhere. (Actually, the latter had probably never been reading Right On to begin with.) The editors came to believe that they should write for a literate audience and that the real mission to many other potential Christian people out there was a mission that others needed to fill and in different ways. Right On knew what it wanted to be doing. An audience would follow. Actually, reader

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response had already encouraged the direction it was taking.

The direction that Right On took in its fourth year (1972-73) was more of the same. The reviews became more sophisticated, the writing and layout kept improving, and there increasingly appeared "scoop" interviews. Already in the third year Edwin Hawkins had been interviewed. In the fourth year there were interviews with Marjoe, Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers and running for Mayor of Oakland; Larry Norman, the most famous and successful of the Jesus singers; Stacker Thompson, who played Jesus in the San Francisco production of Godspel; George Landow the film maker; Hans Rookmaaker, a Dutch art critic and evangelical intellectual; Rita Coolidge, a country gospel singer; John Lennon and Yoko; Tim Rice, the lyricist for Jesus Christ Superstar; Hal Lindsey, and, through the supplement "Rock in Jesus," Chi Coltrane and Paul Stookey.

In the July 1972 issue, the first of the paper's fourth year, the editors wrote: "One thing we have tried to get across through Right On is that there is a beautiful, exciting, viable, radical alternative to the death and despair, trip-oriented life-styles and philosophies promulgated in the great majority of our competitor publications. But we have tried hard to avoid simplifying life into a set of magical formulas. Life, including life as a follower of Jesus, is more complex than that. But Biblical Christianity is a live option and the best and most satisfying at that. The life of the body, the life of the soul, and the life of the mind flourish under the Lordship of Jesus Christ."

In his regular column, "The Androclean Outlook," Jack Sparks wrote:

> It was the first of July 1969 when we got out the first issue of Right On. There were just two of us and it was a new experience. We had only the vaguest idea of what the response would be. Our decision to publish was based on the certainty of the need for the publication of a Christian point of view in the Berkeley scene and the inner assurance that God would enable us to communicate.

He mentioned a recent letter from a reader who commented on "your obvious love and concern and gentleness" in the very first issue which had made her think. Since that time she had come to the Lord. He mentioned several people in Berkeley who had come to the Lord through Right On's ministry. "Right On was the first of the Christian newspapers (underground or otherwise) to arise in the youth scene. Now there are more than fity around the world." He continued:

> The two of us who had such a difficult time putting out that first paper could not have continued on a regular basis. Nor could we have brought about all the improvements which have made Right On develop almost continuously into a more effective communication. That required the development of a staff of sensitive, spiritually alive people who could communicate in a relevant fashion. There was no way we could have hunted them out or paid them. Yet here they are. Throughout the three-year history of Right On there has been a constant development so that today the staff is a truly able, functioning body of people who plan and issue a paper that reaches out to the reader, touching him intellectually and spiritually.

He wrote about the changing Berkeley scene, the decline of radical activism, the ongoing quest for the meaning of life.

> The Right On staff plans to keep right on analyzing the scene we live in, the movies we watch, the books we read, in order to keep on showing the reality of Jesus Christ and the existence of true answers to life's most perplexing problems. As from the beginning we continue at the brink of financial disaster. We have never sought financial stability and it hasn't come. We publish as we've managed to scrape up the funds. We simply have faith that God will enable us to publish as long as He wants us to. So be it.

That first issue in the fourth year had an excellent statement of the "intentionalist" position in social ethics—"radical change must come from the bottom up—through the establishment of alternative life-styles which are based upon a new concept of community and human relationships." The article, "The True and the False Revolution," closed with the words: "We are not called to make a sick world well; we are called to live well. That is a powerful political act in itself. In the final analysis, it means being the revolution." Many articles, and the whole tone of the paper, continued to be informed by a reasoned presentation of radical Christianity as a viable, third alternative.

Some of the staff of Right On went to Miami Beach and covered both conventions, at the same time staffing a "Forever Family" tent in the midst of Flamingo Park. The reactions to the conventions suggested again that Right On's third way was not political-spiritual, but spiritual. There seemed to be a retreat from any politics, almost a washing one's hands of it. Nevertheless, Mark Hatfield continued to be pointed up, especially his words at the Nixon prayer breakfast.

In the October 1972 issue David began a regular column called "The Radical Christian." He looked for an alternative beyond the New Left, beyond the Jesus movement. "If the fault of the New Left and the student revolution has been a failure to produce an adequate basis for a lasting revolution, the fault of the Jesus movement is that, having found a solid base, it has adopted anti-intellectual and anti-cultural attitudes and thus failed to carry out the implications of being disciples of the Lord of the Universe." He called in this and subsequent columns for a radical discipleship as best evidenced in the Anabaptist tradition.

Already in the third year the paper had regularly appeared in twelve pages. In the fourth year it often appeared in sixteen and even twenty pages. Partly, this was due to an experiment of several months with a supplement, "Rock in Jesus," a review of Jesus music published in Dallas. The supplement was discontinued for several reasons. Rock in Jesus was not paying its way, there seemed only so much to write about Jesus music without becoming repetitious, the extensive coverage (four pages) of Jesus music in such a small paper seemed to overstate its overall cultural importance.

In the fourth year there were book reviews of Jacques Ellul, Buckminister Fuller, Alvarez's study of suicide, several works by Francis Schaeffer and John W. Montgomery, Vance Packard, Jonathan Livingston Seagull, R. D. Laing, Benjamin Zablocki's The Joyful Community, Os Guinness' The Dust of Death. There were movie reviews of Godspel, Clockwork Orange, Slaughterhouse 5, Anna Karenina, Hammersmith, Crime and Punishment, Bergman's Cries and Whispers, and Brother Sun Sister Moon.

With increasing sophistication, especially in the fourth year of Right On, these reviews presented the film or book with honesty and sympathy and then went on to react from the Christian perspective of the reviewer. Rarely did this take the form of an altar call or "Jesus is the answer." Often it was a critical reaction to the artist's diagnosis of the human condition. Sometimes it agreed with that diagnosis but turned away from the solution, if there was one, or from pessimism, if that was evident, toward Christianity as a meaningful response to this human predicament.

The only theological works that were reveiwed were authored by well-thought-of evangelicals, such as Schaeffer and Guinness. These reviews were always appreciative, although there was occasional disagreement. The introductions to the works of Jacques Ellul and John Montgomery were also appreciative. Why other theological works were not dealt with is not clear. Perhaps the authors, usually David, felt these evangelical works best presented the common viewpoint that informed Right On's theology and so were valuable as additional resources, but did not wish to enter the theological marketplace. Possibly neither the Right On reviewers nor the audience would have been interested in the many theological books published in America. An extensive dialogue with the varieties of theology outside that common to Right On could have turned Right On into a theological journal, amateurish, or an irrelevant head-trip. Presumably the editors did not consider such works sufficiently relevant to Right On's tasks. They may have been right, but we shall have to take this question up again in the next chapter.

One of the books on the Jesus movement, researched in 1971, suggested there were some sixty Jesus newspapers with a combined monthly circulation of more than one million.[6] The November 5, 1972 New York Times believed there were twenty-five to fifty fairly stable monthlies. Until about 1972 the Hollywood Free Paper, founded in 1969 by Duane Pederson, was the largest Jesus paper in circulation and pitched to a teenage audience. It was long on cliché and short on depth. Its circulation reached 500,000 and went over a million for such events as the Rose Bowl. By 1972-73 it seemed to be merging into a magazine format, serving the cause of Jesus People International, also founded by Pederson. Its circulation and frequency then declined. Another major Jesus paper is Truth, founded in Spokane by Carl Parks and published by his Voice of Elijah Inc. McFadden calls Truth the most professionally edited[7] of the Jesus papers.

Right On would outlast all these papers. It has grown in style, depth, and number of pages. Its development shows increasing sophistication and it is looking more like an evangelical magazine of opinion. It has probably moved itself out of the Jesus movement, although the growth of individual Jesus People may be assumed at least in some cases to parallel Right On's growth. Right On has become respectable. If there were a radical evangelical establishment, Right On would belong to it. Whether the radicalness of Right On would be able to survive increasing success, especially if it were financial success, and increasing commitment to a positive worldview and interaction with the culture remains to be seen.

Right On's circulation has gone from a few thousand to fifty thousand. During much of its third year and part of its fourth, that was the circulation figure given for the paper. From February of 1973 there was a significant drop in circulation, partly from lack of funds, but mostly because the editors wanted to move Right On in a new direction. At its height of circulation Right On was distributed and then handed out in vast quantities to many campuses in the Bay Area. Usually a small group of Christians on a campus would take responsibility for picking up as many bundles of Right On as they could use each month and hand them out. CWLF itself would see to Right On's distribution in Berkeley and some other campuses.

Now the editors wanted to sell Right On for 25 cents. It appeared axiomatic to them that you cannot both sell a paper and give it away. Whenever the editors thought about the future, they thought about such papers as Rolling Stone. They wanted a paper that could be sold in vending machines, on newsstands, and in bookstores other than Christian ones. They also believed they saw, perhaps it was a rationalization for their intended action, a decreasing interest in handouts on college campuses. Students were being leafleted to death. They believed that intelligent, interested people would rather pay a quarter for "something good." In the end more people who wanted the paper would end up reading it, they believed. Whether Right On would keep reaching as many non-Christians, one of its stated goals, remained to be seen. How would they come in contact with it and be interested enough to buy it? The editors believed it would happen.

A friend of Right On gave enough money in the spring of 1973 to purchase ten vending machines, which as a pilot project were placed around the Bay Area. There was also an effort to increase the national subscription list, which in June 1973 numbered about two thousand. There were another five to ten thousand paid bulk orders each month. The press run since February 1973 has been fifteen to twenty thousand each month. The staff began to spend more time looking for subscribers than for opportunities to give Right On away free.

In the spring of 1973 Right On also was awarded an outright grant of $5,000 by a Christian foundation and another $5,000 matching if Right On could raise $5,000, which they nearly accomplished. David believed that would "guarantee us quality for at least two years—$15,000 is $500 a month for thirty months. During that time we can build up sales and subscriptions, continue our present editorial path, not have to cut back our pages for lack of money, and spend our energies in ways other than just surviving. We're really excited about the grant. It means we can keep going."

Right On has always run near the red and occasionally had to put out smaller issues when they could not pay the printer. In 1973 their expenses were about $1,500 per month, almost all of which went to pay actual costs. Not more than $450 a month total went to a few people who worked for the paper. Most of them, of course, must find additional "support" elsewhere.

About $400 a month came to the paper in outright contributions, about $400 from subscriptions, and about $200-400 from bulk orders and $100-800 in paid advertising. A small amount of advertising began to appear in 1972 when the staff began actively seeking it. From February to June 1973 the paper averaged about $500 each month in advertising. Rate sheets and letters of introduction were sent out to about one hundred key targets whose advertising is sought. Most ads have been from Christian publishers and bookstores, but some have appeared from Bible colleges and seminaries. Most Christian colleges, however, advertise in Establishment evangelical papers geared to high school youth. The editors place restrictions on ads. They of course would not accept the sex ads which seem to keep the Berkeley Barb and other underground papers afloat. Nor would they accept ads for Jesus trinkets and other commercializations of the movement.

The staff is generally sure about the path they are taking with Right On. For the future they look for more of the same. They have set the pattern and now seek to do it better and better and for an increasingly large audience. They feel most acutely the need for a dynamic promoter and business manager. They do not intend to take the grant money and "spend it wildly" in six months. They hope to keep building month by month. Their experience with "Rock in Jesus" has dampened their enthusiasm for any drastic changes in direction or wild schemes.

The paper has never sought any written or even oral subscription to any theological statement or creed. There is the assumption that all work under the Lordship of Christ. "There is a common confession that Jesus is Lord. We've never attempted a restrictive definition of inspiration, authority, etc."

They envision an audience, Christian and non-Christian, that is literate, though not necessarily intellectual, in their twenties. Their confidence in reaching a non-Christian market is related to their belief that truth is universal and will find a response. They want their audience to "understand where we're at" and "we want to articulate that very well." They hope specifically that intellectuals, radicals, and "heads" will read the paper. They want to make the paper attractive enough so that people who read such papers will read it, but refuse to lower the paper to the requirements and inclinations of those who do not typically read and who seek their spiritual sustenance, if they are Christians, in other ways. Occasionally the paper is sent to people Right On would like to influence—the Berkeley City Council, the President, Billy Graham, and others.

David believes the most significant change in the paper's four-year history is the solidifying of its effort and its great stability, once regular and committed editors came on the scene in 1971. In 1972 David left his job as a high school teacher and joined Sharon to work full time for Right On. David has described their working relationship as "two peas in a pod." "Since 1971 we've published regularly, eight pages or more. The direction has definitely been more of a newspaper-magazine than a small propaganda sheet. Even from the beginning, however, Jack never thought it should be overtly evangelistic. He never wanted a tract disguised as an underground newspaper. He wanted a paper that would speak intelligently to radicals, heads, and students in their medium."

The editors stress the idea of creativity in their Christian witness. They avoid "cramming articles with Bible verses," although they occasionally quote Bible verses in answers printed in their letters column. David has said that "the straightest witness is not necessarily the best witness. We don't want to use the four spiritual laws nor end every article with an altar call." The Christian witness comes out of the whole life. This is not an old testimony paper." One of the reasons for the continued printing of the "Have You Seen Jesus My Lord" column is to provide a clear and simple witness in a particular place which would also make it unnecessary to think of a way to speak the Gospel clearly and completely in every article. This column enables the staff to witness directly to its faith and to its hope for the reader. A more general theological orientation or viewpoint pervades the entire paper.

In talking about Right On particularly and Christian literature generally at CWLF's Radical Street Christianity Workshop in the summer of 1972, David said Right On wanted a balance so that there would clearly be the simplest Gospel presentation that anyone could come to faith and at the same time always a grappling with intellectual issues from a Christian viewpoint. He stressed that Right On was oriented to people who read. He said that Right On generally had remained silent where possible on many public issues, but was acutely aware that silence also could mean assent. He discussed why the paper reviews things it didn't endorse. "We want to write about what people are seeing and reading. From our viewpoint." He believed that charges that Right On was too intellectual came from people who did not bother to read Right On, or anything at all.

Right On's goal was to speak Christ into all of life. "We expect that it may make you do your homework. It is more nurture than evangelism." Generally Right On has not featured directly theological articles, hoping instead that theology would infuse the entire paper. They have resisted one staff member's suggestion that a Bible study of some kind be incorporated in each issue or that articles on theological subjects or doctrines be included.

Right On aspires to look at as much of the world and culture as it has resources, energy, and space for. Its perspective while viewing the world scene broadly is relatively circumscribed and evangelical. In having a viewpoint it differs from no magazine. It wants to articulate its viewpoint as clearly as possible for the reader. It would subscribe to the motto "Let the buyer beware." The editors believe that many periodicals are not nearly as honest about their perspectives and presuppositions as they might be. Because Right On is, it may sometimes seem narrow.

Nearly everyone who has written on the Jesus movement and who remarks on Jesus papers calls Right On the most sophisticated, the most literate, the best. (Many of these authors mention CWLF's Jesus People news service. That never really developed.) By 1973 perhaps only five or ten Jesus papers were being published with any regularity. Right On has had energy, resources, and people enough to keep it at the head of CWLF's ministries. Its success has given CWLF a large image around the country among Jesus People and interested evangelicals.

During 1972-73 the future of Right On was always clouded. There were internal power struggles between Larry and the editors. A few people in CWLF thought Right On had forsaken its original mission, though they never said this out loud. The editors were continually frustrated in getting some of the "general" funds which came into CWLF and consequently were continually running near the red and could not expand in the ways they wished. They construed this as a slap on the wrist from Larry, who continually expressed to the editors (although not to CWLF generally) his unhappiness with the direction the paper was taking. He was particularly incensed over the Bobby Seale interview and the sympathetic and prominent coverage it got.

The editors also remember well the time a critical article on Campus Crusade's Dallas Explo in the summer of 1972 was simply dropped when they were both out of town. The art and layout editor was the wife of Larry, and Larry was thus able to keep abreast of both articles and letters to be printed before they came into print.

Another CWLF brother, Mike, whom we met in Chapter II, has occasionally expressed reservations about Right On. In a staff meeting once he mentioned how Jacques Ellul's neo-orthodoxy in a Biblical commentary nearly "made him puke." He was concerned the way Ellul was being trumpeted in Right On. When Right On received a personal letter from Ellul, David was exuberant and let everyone know about it. Mike admitted that perhaps he was jealous of Right On's fame.

Another reason for internal tension was an ongoing debate about the extent to which Right On should be a house organ of CWLF. Sharon was almost completely opposed to the idea. David was hesitant until he could be convinced that CWLF was getting its house in order. Larry and others felt that this should be a significant mission of Right On. Certainly in the early days Right On was one means of attracting people around the country to the ministry that CWLF was carrying on. Yet even those issues rarely carried any specific articles about things CWLF was doing. There were occasional schedules of CWLF Bible raps in the second and third years of Right On, but there were never articles about CWLF ministries on campus, at the Ranch, or on the streets.

Some, including David, felt that Right On could be a creative expression of some of the more significant things CWLF was doing. A viable and creative community would generate things worth writing about. Some could even imagine the paper becoming a product or outcome of a certain kind of community. David was interested in the possibility of the Crucible steering committee serving as kind of an editorial board for Right On or of Crucible increasingly using Right On as a literary outlet for its best efforts. Sharon was much more committed to keeping Right On autonomous—with respect to Crucible and certainly with respect to being any kind of house organ for CWLF.

In June 1973 David announced that he would be leaving CWLF and Right On to accept a position at a Bible college in Los Angeles. He hoped also to begin work on a Ph.D. in church history. This dramatic announcement had a remarkable effect on CWLF. Jack rallied to express his support for Right On, expressed his confidence in Sharon as the now sole editor, and took quiet steps to restrict Larry's authority. In fact, Larry announced that he would be leaving CWLF in the fall of 1973. David's departure defused the entire situation, and Right On would seemingly be able to continue on the course he had been so active in setting. He would continue to write his monthly column on radical Christianity. How much the paper would miss his skills and energy and how well Sharon would handle the administration duties which she disliked and generally had avoided remained to be seen.

Letters to Street Christians

Although Right On is the most significant literary production of CWLF, its origins lie in a broad-based effort to produce a new kind of Christian literature geared to the streets and the campus. The early CWLF missionaries copied the radical tactics and tried to produce leaflets suitable for every important occasion. Their goal was to "make Jesus relevant to whatever issue happened to be on top at the moment." They rejected Gospel tracts both because their appearance was inappropriate to the scene in which CWLF operated and because their language was hopelessly out of touch. The increasing concern with language led to the "Letters to Street Christians." These were very loose paraphrases of sections of New Testmant epistles written in what CWLF people believed to be the prevailing hip style. Sections of them appeared as leaflets, then as pamphlets, and finally they were produced as a paperback.

Because they were so historically immediate they became dated fast. That in itself is no criticism. All revolutionary pamphleteering becomes quaint with amazing speed. This piece of literature is somewhat unique in that it was a historically conditioned (indeed conditioned not to a century or a decade, but probably to two or three years) paraphrase of very lasting documents. Some, however, have argued that nobody on the street ever spoke that way. Some of the language is not unlike that of the Hollywood Free Paper's attempt to talk about Jesus in teeny-bopper, quasi-hippie language. Nevertheless, there were others who might argue in the words of the first Christian converts at Pentecost: "We hear them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God" (Acts 3:11). Not a few people were amazed to find the New Testament making sense to them. Their hearts were warmed and their interests kindled when they came across God speaking like that.

The two brothers, Jack and Fred, who did that paraphrase had no expert knowledge of Greek. They consulted every translation and paraphrase of the New Testament they could find, worked with Greek texts and dictionary when they could, struggled, groped, and prayed. Sometimes, in good translator fashion, they agonized for hours or days over a single passage.

The best judges of their work, they would say, are readers. Many found this paraphrase helpful. Others never use it and good-naturedly belittle it. Letters to Street Christians did not seem to be widely used within CWLF after 1971. At Family Meetings or other occasions it is not unusual for Jack to want to read a passage, call for "his" paraphrase, and discover that no one has it with them. He, however, usually does carry a copy with him. No doubt the enormous effort required to produce any translation or paraphrase of a sacred document would make that paraphrase almost part of oneself. Reading it would recall all the spiritual effort and hard work that went into it. It becomes almost a spiritual testament.

Following are a few selections from Letters to Street Christians:

> First of all we want you to know that we thank the Father through Jesus for your trust in Him which is being felt by people everywhere. The Father knows that we want to see the family getting it together, being together, sharing with each other, using the spiritual abilities He's given us, and helping each other to grow

> in our relationship with Him. We really NEED each other as brothers and sisters. But we owe people; we owe the Good News to ALL people everywhere. Birchers and businessmen, communists and creeps. (Romans 1:8-15)
>
> The Spirit Himself whispers deep inside us that we really are kids in the Father's family. (Romans 8:16)
>
> Dig it! Jesus IS everything that the law was pushing for. He brings right standing with God to all people who receive Him. (Romans 10:4)
>
> Before the creation of the world God had a mind-blowing secret that He kept from people until He sent His Son. Now He's spreading it around the world and those who trust Him understand it. Dig the secret: Jesus—living inside your human body and promising you forever life with Him. That's why we go around talking about Jesus to everybody we meet, giving them a chance to turn from themselves and follow Him. That way all people have a chance to be what God wants them to be. What better way could you pour out the energy the Father has put inside you? (Col. 1:24-29)

To appreciate this extremely loose paraphrase one has to sit down and read it as something new. Or imagine some freak sitting in the shadows on Telegraph Avenue or an incredulous student sitting by Ludwig's Fountain on the University campus. If one tries to read it in connection with a standard translation, one quickly becomes infuriated. There are no chapter or verse markings. Entire verses seem to be left out at the whim of the paraphraser. The novice "serious Bible student" may find it beneath him or undependable. Yet there are countless fresh turns of phrase that are exactly right. The paraphrase is an excellent awakener to the possibility that God might be speaking a contemporary language. In a way, the appearance of these letters in book form is already an institutionalization which removes their original intent and impact. They were pamphlets passed out to be read in all kinds of places.

They were meant to turn someone on to the idea that the New Testament might be interesting reading. It would be possible to alter the work by removing all those phrases which are no longer current and replacing them with more general phrases. That would give the book a much longer reading life. It might also take away its freshness. Perhaps they were letters, fresh and exciting, to a scene that no longer is.

Other Literature

Sparks continued to believe in the importance of language as the clothing for the Christian message. He felt that works that were unintelligible or which took great effort to relate to were keeping people from facing up to who God is. "Our writing in CWLF is personal witnessing. We are sitting down and talking and making sure you understand the words we're using." That writing grew out of conversational situations. Sparks has often said, "All we learned in those days came from face-to-face contact."

There was literature aplenty which was doing exactly what Sparks thought literature should do. But it was all secular, he thought. "Christians have abdicated the world of literature to secularists. Everybody but Christians is into it. Those Christians who were, were out of the Berkeley context. People in business suits handing out four-color tracts. The prophets used unforgettable, colloquial illustrations. We wanted to forget religious jargon and verses." At the Radical Street Christianity Workshop, Sparks discussed the principles CWLF had evolved. "1. Literature must have a context, a format acceptable to people that you're trying to reach. It must be understandable language and not be something else in disguise. 2. It must catch the eye and be memorable. Conversations, parables, cartoons are good. 3. People must get out and do it, not just consider doing it or fault the stuff already done. We failed gloriously and we produced some good stuff."

CWLF was especially active at major peace marches with literature and extra editions of Right On. But there were countless occasions when leaflets were prepared: picketing the sex clubs at North Beach, leafleting the crowd at a Nixon fund-raising dinner and trying especially hard to get to those going into the dinner, Krishna parades, People's Park celebrations and riots, the appearances of countercultural or Eastern gurus, SDS activities, City Council meetings. Wherever crowds gathered, CWLF tried to be there with a handout.

CWLF literature was often playful, especially in the early days of CWLF. It was usually more of an attention-getter than a straight, serious message. There was usually a "but have you thought of this, too" quality about it. It fell somewhere in between the heavy raps of the Left and the hippie flowers in the guns of the National Guardsmen. Ginsberg's poem "How to Make a March/Spectacle" suggests that demonstrations should "lay aside their usually grave and pugnacious quality in favor of a festive dancing and chanting parade that would pass out balloons and flowers, candy and kisses, bread and wine to everyone along the line of march—including the cops and any Hell's Angels in the vicinity. The atmosphere should be one of gaiety and affection, governed by the intention to attract or seduce participation from the usually impassive bystanders—or at least to overcome their worst suspicions and hostilities."[9] There were times when CWLF approached that attitude. Sparks has said of the early days: "Mostly we learned to be fools for Christ. We learned to be unafraid of people, never to fear anyone so much we wrote him off." Of course, a crucial by-product of such a lack of fear is that CWLF did not have to appear defensive and heavy. They probably did not achieve such a playful attitude most of the time—and perhaps did not want to.

What does the tactic of using literature mean? Is it to educate the people? Is it to convert radicals? Is it to keep students and street people from becoming radicals and encourage them to consider another alternative? Is it to make evangelicals feel good? Is it a means of acting out? Is it proving to yourself that Christians can be militant too? Is it a mission to show Christ is worth considering even as all other things are being considered? Is it saying Christians do not have to take second place to anybody? That the Christian faith can compete in the marketplace? That Christianity is as exciting (and more so) than anything else? That Christians can do it?

Probably all these factors are present in CWLF's efforts. The measure of a tactic is whether it promotes the movement's goals. CWLF grew in influence. Presumably it did win a hearing for the Gospel. It did gain credibility for the idea that Christianity could compete in the marketplace. It did strengthen some Christian nerve. There were people who responded, if not directly to literature, then to what was behind the literature. Above all, the literature ministry of CWLF seemed to

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show that Christians were alive, that they were unafraid, that they believed they had something worth saying, that they had an alternative to present, that Christianity was not a dead issue. This literature and the scrappy, enthusiastic, pesky, ubiquitous, naive, bold people who handed it out were the medium for that message. And they believed that the real message was that God was alive, unafraid, worth considering, a viable alternative.

Street Theater

Street Theater existed in Jack Spark's head long before it came into being. When he met Frank at Dallas Seminary, he said "I've been waiting two and a half years for you to come along." Street Theater had seemed one more in a whole bag of tactics which Christians ought to be using to get their message across, to further their goal. It waited, in CWLF's view, for God to bring along the right talent. The time was ripe.

Frank, who came to CWLF and Berkeley to begin a street theater, likes to talk and write about the fact that theater had its origins in religious rites and drama. He sees no clear history of the development of religious drama in modern times.

Frank became interested in drama in college, where he majored in oral interpretation. He had seen Radical Theater in New York and had been tremendously impressed. "It was a theater of images. It was not serious, it was a rip-off, it was obscene, homosexual, but it was street theater in style. It left a lasting impression on me."

After two years at Dallas Seminary he came to Berkeley. He and the troupe of eight brothers and sisters were committed to developing a unique open-air phenomenon. "Images can be seen from a distance, sounds can't. Images stay in a person's mind. We did shows a year ago that people who come up still remember vividly."

When the group began to do street theater they had never seen any. Frank was aware of the Lamb's Players, a Christian group in San Diego. They are the closest to CWLF's street theater yet completely different. "They put together one play and tour the country doing it. They simply do indoor theater outdoors. We're separating ourselves from that. The closest thing in the secular world is the East Bay Sharks. They sometimes use music but do a very central kind of show. Yet there is an indoor type of relation between the performers. The San Francisco Mime troupe also uses indoor techniques."

The group began to go through short sketches, trying to think through the elements of good street theater. They were familiar with the sketches of the "Committee" in San Francisco and of the Ace Trucking Company. They tried to become accomplished in short sketches so that passers-by could get a completion without staying for a long period of time. They recognized that their audience might continually be coming and going, that the crowd at the end would probably not have been present at the beginning. They worked every day on vocal projection aiming to be heard by crowds of as many as 1,200.

There were no professionals in the troupe that was assembled— and no prima donnas. They wrote all their own material and never had any major characters, no lead roles with supporting performers. The group remained unified and grew together as a small community. "Even if we used a script, everyone got an equal share. Because we were not professionals we never got a quality of polished performance. The audiences didn't seem to care. We of course kept improving all the time."

The people in street theater work in spurts, perhaps five or six hours a day for three months, and then relax for a period of time. At peak periods they may be together for ten or twelve hours a day. "Essentially we are living together, up to sixty hours a week." After frenzied periods they may "split and cool off," working fifteen hours a week and even less.

They have used many techniques to develop their craft. Often they do not rehearse a show, they just fantasize. Someone tells the group a fantasy and everyone tries to complete it. They begin to pull out things that people have held down very deep. The process is creative on the one hand and molds the group almost into an encounter session on the other hand. "It becomes a therapeutic group. We work off each other. After a while we forget ourselves and respond to each other instinctively. This becomes important when we are performing, often ad-libbing, before audiences." Other times in rehearsal they do exercises in which they imagine they are steel or balloons or a train, trying to become infinitely malleable.

Frank believes God uses that, molding the group to his purposes in concrete situations. They are able to pick up inspiration and ideas from an audience. Is the audience on drugs? Is it an uptight Christian group? God uses the street theater, Frank believes, to speak uniquely into situations.

Members of street theater sometimes say that performance is not nearly as important as their growth and process as a group. Most of their productions grow directly out of their rehearsals. There have been only two shows with actual scripts. Frank's idea of the creative process is to work on a basic idea or statement and then let it develop endlessly. In the production each performer ends up speaking to the audience statements that he himself has created in rehearsal. There is no sense of the performer being a mere technician.

The group has performed often on the Berkeley campus and at Stanford, Hayward, Sonoma, San Francisco State, College of Marin, California College of Arts and Crafts, Cal Poly at San Luis Obispo (sponsored by Campus Crusade there), Chabot College, and various junior colleges. They have also performed at Union Square and Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, in People's Park in Berkeley, and at a Presbyterian Convention in Omaha.

People do not usually know that street theater is part of CWLF. "People often refer to us as the Berkeley Street Theater, but we have no name. Our leaflets which we often hand out after a drama simply refer to a Christian Information Committee." Street theater is relatively autonomous in CWLF, even more so than Right On has been. They have the feeling of being a separate entity.

They have begun performing in churches occasionally. "We never mention money when we go to a church. If they mention money we say, 'Pray about it.' We don't want them thinking they can buy us or that we're selling."

The group recognizes that "drama is not a concise teaching tool." Their theater is deliberately not overtly evangelistic, although they recognize that some drama, which they consider bad drama, has been. They want to give people some images to remember, to do some things hard to say in words. "There are more efficient ways directly to edify the saints. And we certainly don't exist to entertain the saints."

When street theater first came into being Frank invited anyone and everyone in CWLF to come. Thirty-five came. As they began to rehearse more and more the group narrowed to twelve. Many of them were not very good. Eventually the group narrowed to six dedicated people. When it became clear that two of them were taking too much time, Frank talked this over with them and asked them to leave and seek other ministries. They did.

Street theater has never required previous experience or taken people on for a probation period. When Elizabeth, whom we met in Chapter II, felt called to street theater she prayed about it for some time and talked it over with various people in street theater. They also prayed about it and talked it over among themselves. The chief concern was "a demonstrable walk with God and an ability to work with every member of the group." Frank believes that difficulties in performing probably relate to ego problems. If a person can relate to the group he can probably perform. If anyone in the group is calling attention to himself, the group deals with it. Feelings are seldom hurt and the group has grown extremely close. Two members of the group were married in June 1973.

In 1973 there were five men and three women in street theater. Frank and another male had both majored in drama-related fields in college. Some of the others had had some dramatic experience in high school and college. Two of the members of the troupe are Hebrew-Christians, one of them Arnie, whom we met in Chapter II. In the summer of 1973 some of the "interns" who came to spend a few months with CWLF joined street theater for a period of six weeks.

Frank believes the troupe could become considerably larger if it were handled well. He dreams of a creative group which would work with films, TV, indoor theater as well as street theater. "We would have to have a really close body. A Christian Church actually!"

Funds which come into CWLF earmarked for street theater are used for travel, makeup, and other expenses, but none for compensation to the actors. Each must raise his own support through prayer letters or other means. None has another job, simply because there would be too many conflicting hours. All of the troupe do other things in and about CWLF, but these remain secondary. Frank (and his wife, who is not in street theater) probably receives the most support and that is only $200 per month. The others are all single, except for the couple who married.

Frank has become very enthusiastic about the future by 1973, partly in response to what he considers the increasingly healthy situation in CWLF and partly in response to the artistic dreams he and others are having. "We're really in environmental communication. We're taking the communication process out of an artificial setting. We really saw that at Omaha. We saw the possibility of people applying truths to their lives out of a real situation." He thinks such ministries as Street Theater, Right On, and Crucible could "really rock the country if we got going. There can also be inter-stimulation. Several creative communities doing their things and encouraging and influencing each other." He sees new visions developing in CWLF, which "are far more important than any structural changes."

The goal of the street theater productions is to make people think about the human condition and situation. "Our shows are never straight Gospel shows. Some never even mention God or Christ. We are not trying to lead people to a decision but to get them to stop, listen, and walk away appreciating and thinking. We doubt you can convert someone in a few minutes anyway." They often hand out a leaflet after a show. Even these leaflets are not overtly evangelistic.

At the Radical Street Christianity Workshop in the summer of 1972 Frank talked about creativity and drama. "The important thing is to look at things in clean fresh ways. We Christians could produce a Godspel. We're always afraid of heresy, hesitant to try the new. What creative things are Jesus People doing? We have the Spirit but do dry stuff. It's sterile, imitative, sameness. We must take the truth of God and apply it in new, challenging, creative ways. We should be out in front."

In the spring of 1973 Street Theater produced a kind of general prayer letter. It was four pages, with pictures of each member of the troupe in action and a front-page picture of a very large crowd gathered to watch the street theater perform in Sproul Plaza on the Berkeley campus. The copy on the first page read:

> It has now been seven months since CWLF first began using Street Theater. God has certainly taught us much during these months. This prayer letter is to let you see each of the members of our group more closely. We want you to be able to pray for our needs as a group and as individuals. We have been trying various techniques in the past, and we have some specific projects for the future. We ask that you join us in praying for God's guidance and His blessing.
>
> During the past two months we have added some new shows to our repertoire. "Choose or Lose" and "Registration" are contrasting shows. "Choose or Lose" is a comedy playing off the TV education that our generation has received. The production takes a college student, Willy Nilly, through a series of game shows. The first game starts Willy off with being born. From there he is moved through the stages of his life. At each stage he plays a game. After he has won a number of prizes, including a family, Willy gambles it all for an unseen prize behind a door. He wins death. "Registration" is a heavy drama concentrating on the alienation within any large society. This show is extremely harsh. With most of the cast playing mentally ill roles, there is an uneasy atmosphere surrounding the production. The outcome of the show is that the answer to our problems does not lie in government or in programs. Rather, for people to be free and happy they need Jesus. With both of the shows, leaflets are used to apply the Gospel to the production.

The Street Theater ministry is not as straightforwardly evangelical as that letter makes it seem. One could certainly walk away from many shows without the feeling that he needs Jesus or even the opinion that that's what the performers wanted to say. Of course, many in the crowd do not receive the leaflets that are handed out after the show.

The prayer letter contained statements from each of the troup members. One wrote about acting out "our view of mankind in this dying world." Another mentioned that "a number of Christians have said that we get the message across" and mentioned the leaflet following the production of "Registration" which "juxtaposes the ugliness of life in a secular superstate and the fulfillment and freedom that come with a relationship with God."

Another mentioned "performing to glorify the Lord rather than ourselves. We are going into the world to give to them what is important rather than take from them." There was mention of the importance of Christians developing a keen sense of humor and not appearing drab and lifeless. Several mentioned the effect street theater was having on their personal lives, leading them to a more trusting relationship with God and with each other. Frank mentioned that the beginning audiences had ranged from fifty to two hundred and that current audiences were averaging from two hundred to four hundred fifty. He continued:

> When we first began, our shows were in the Walt Disney tradition. Our newer shows have been more in line with the thinking of the Berkeley student. They are more abrupt and coarse. Each show makes a social statement and then applies the Gospel. I believe that we are being received by the Berkeley community as more responsible citizens with the right to speak out.

Presumably the application of the Gospel mentioned relates more to the pamphlet than the show.

Street Theater seems to be an effective medium and the CWLF troupe seems to be employing it with a good deal of expertise. The audience appears to be engrossed in the shows and one can assume, as the troupe does, that they go away thinking. This is Street Theater's goal. They hope some in the audience may stay around to talk or go to someone or somewhere for more.

Crucible

"After years of dreaming, months of discussion, and several weeks of organizational work," Crucible, a Forum for Radical Christian Studies, began offering courses in the fall of 1972. The idea of some kind of free university had been germinating for about a year. A brother who had been dreaming and working on the idea had never been able to put it together and finally went off to Toronto where he believed there was a model of what he had wanted to accomplish. After nothing had really happened, and when it became clear that the brother was withdrawing, David took over the mission. In the summer of 1972 he began assembling a steering committee, over half of whom, deliberately, were not members of CWLF. The committee eventually consisted of the two editors of Right On, a University biochemist, his wife, a previous editor of Inter-Varsity's HIS magazine, a doctoral student at the Graduate Theological Union (the present writer), a local Inter-Varsity staffer, Elizabeth, whom we met in Chapter II and who served as the Crucible secretary, Jack, the Presbyterian minister we also met in Chapter II, and two countercultural men attempting to create some kind of authentic Christian life-style for themselves. Jack Sparks was on the steering committee but attended infrequently.

The steering committee began to plot a course for Crucible, to define what Crucible's goals would be, and to assemble courses to be offered in the fall quarter. In a letter sent to friends and interested people in the area, David wrote a general statement of purpose:

> Crucible will provide a meeting place for ideas and free thought within the context of radical, Biblical Christian commitment. The Forum will be conducted "free university"

> style with minimal charges. In general, subject only to review by the steering committee, anyone will be able to teach anything to anybody. Attempts will be made to serve a large and heterogeneous group of students and members of the counterculture.

Later a letter was sent to all churches in the Bay Area and to others on various lists of potentially interested people. David wrote: "Our name describes the kinds of things we would like to see happen in the Bay Area. . . . It is our hope that we will be truly a crucible within which ideas, knowledge, and differing opinions may be offered and then put to the test." By the time of this letter, David and two others were serving as co-directors. After the fall quarter the two others stepped down, continuing to serve on the steering committee, and David continued as the one Director.

Crucible operated in three ways throughout the 1972-73 school year. A series of regular courses was offered in different fields and different styles. There was a charge for these ten-week courses, ranging from $4 to $10. Free mini-courses were offered on Saturday mornings. Once a quarter a public meeting with a guest lecturer was offered. Interested people were encouraged to become Crucible members by paying a $10 fee and receiving a card entitling them to one-half off the fee charged for any course in Crucible for the year. This was the only significant source of funding for Crucible. All the steering committee members were asked to become Crucible members, and their money paid for the initial printing. A few contributions came in from people simply interested in supporting this new ministry. Half of the fee charged for any course went to Crucible and half to the instructor.

Anyone wishing to teach a course submitted an outline, a bibliography, and perhaps a personal statement about credentials for teaching that course. A 3/4 vote of the steering committee was necessary for approval of a course. During the year most decisions came via the common mind of the group rather than through a vote. There was generally a free attitude about courses to be offered, as long as they could be done with integrity. There was a feeling by most members of the steering committee that any mistakes should be in the direction of too much freedom. There was no one theological viewpoint, no one Christian apologetic, no one life-style, no one view of the direction Crucible ought to take. There was a rich ferment and, as the year went on, an increasing commitment to the community that the steering committee had become in its common confession of Jesus Christ as Lord and its common devotion to the developing vision of what Crucible ought to be.

Four courses were taught in the fall quarter: A History of the Radical Church, Liberation and the Christian Sister, Introduction to New Testament Greek, and Jack Sparks's "The Androclean Forum," an ongoing potluck and discussion group at his house every Thursday evening which was being listed as a Crucible course. There were mini-courses on the idea of covenant, evil and punishment in C. S. Lewis' The Great Divorce, human sexuality in Biblical perspective, war, peace, and conscientious objection, poetry, and Bach's Christmas Oratorio. The widely circulated fall brochure noted:

> The steering committee of The Crucible, composed of brothers and sisters from a wide variety of backgrounds, is dedicated to bringing you new opportunities to teach, learn, and interact with others about events, issues, topics, and activities of importance

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> today. Everyone is invited to take advantage of our courses. Those on the steering committee and those who give courses are unified on the basis of radical, Biblical commitment to Jesus the Lord. Upon that unifying basis, The Crucible will nurture creative interaction and academic freedom among its participants.

The public meeting in the fall quarter was "Christianity in the People's Republic of China."

As the year progressed Crucible took over a neglected library in one of the rooms at CWLF's Dwight House, catalogued all the books, sought new ones, and began opening it for use at specified hours. The response was not great. Mini-courses met in the Student Union Building on campus, at Dwight House, or at First Presbyterian Church in Berkeley. Regular courses met in the instructors' homes or at Dwight House.

In the winter quarter two courses on New Testament Greek were offered, a course on Old Testament history, a course on Women's Liberation with brothers and sisters invited, and a course on mysticism and occultism. There were mini-courses on being a prophet, future talk, parables, archeology, social ethics, and alternative life-styles. The public meeting was a lecture on science and reality. The winter brochure, four pages and beautifully laid out, noted that radical Christianity meant that "we are not institution-oriented or tradition-oriented but rather are determined to uncover the roots of the Christian faith and explore the ramifications of our position in as many areas as possible." It talked about the increasing success and reputation of Crucible and added: "We are not a seminary, a Bible school, or even a typical free university. The Crucible provides truly unique opportunities to the Christian community of the Bay Area and to all people. We are here not to make money (you can see by our tuition charges) but to really 'Serve the Lord, serve the people.'"

By the time the spring quarter arrived the brochure was calling Crucible the "fastest growing free university in Berkeley." There was an explanation: "We believe it's because people are tired of the baseless idealism and violent outworking of much education, whether establishment or countercultural. The Crucible offers courses specializing in open-eyed realism and based on the kind of radical Christian commitment that stands up to both analysis and experience. We encourage you, whatever your background, to give us a try."

The spring quarter offered by far the most courses, but several were dropped for lack of interest. Courses were taught on the Old and New Testaments, New Testament Greek, parables, women and the New Testament. Mini-courses covered Bach's St. Matthew Passion, future talk, crafts and Christian life-style, and "missionaries and/or cultural imperialists." There was no public lecture.

Crucible was a different world from CWLF. Meetings never began or ended with prayer, no one ever said thank you Jesus, shouted Praise the Lord, or even sang a song. A different language was spoken here. Yet those who attended would say they saw a steady Christian commitment, a confession of Jesus as Lord, a spirit of humility and hard work, a complete absence of the subordination of women, a growth in life together, an increasing appreciation for each other's faith and direction and efforts to develop some new way that would serve Christians in different groups and in no group. There was a grappling with what an effective Christian apologetic would be, but little agreement. All this was happening in the steering committee.

The courses themselves varied greatly. Some could have been taught at any Bible college, some were Christian discussion groups, some were relatively academic lectures, some were completely free exchange periods, some were instructors doing their own things and people attending finding it interesting. There was nothing that held all the courses together, people realized at the end of the year. There was a variety of students from many different backgrounds. Probably very few students experienced Crucible as a total entity or a single unified vision. It had been chiefly a vehicle for offering many kinds of courses to many kinds of people—a free university. When the time came to think about the next year, the steering committee began to feel that it had been a successful experiment but that they wanted to commit themselves, if at all, to something more satisfying, more enriching, more unified. The word "forum" began to evolve toward "center" or "community" for Christian studies. The committee was looking for a vision again—probably some kind of energetic community of Christians committed, with all kinds of resources and personalities, to working out intellectually, spiritually, and in life-style, the meaning of their faith and relating it to whatever they were most interested in doing—whether poetry, carpentry, or scholarly research. As the vision took shape there was the assumption that such a group would generate sufficient excitement and interest that a wider audience would be attracted. Doing what one was most interested in doing, scratching where one itched, would be the most productive in the long run and would have the greatest potential impact on others who might want to get in on the group.

Certainly some of these feelings came in response to the apparent reduction in interest in the Crucible spring quarter offerings. But there was a general feeling that the busy work performed during the year had been out of proportion to the audience generated. People with multiple commitments were taking stock of the year and trying to decide what they would be willing to commit themselves to for another year. In a sense, there was a shift from attracting an audience to catching hold of a vision that would be exciting and fulfilling enough to commit oneself to. Such a vision would attract its own audience in time.

If the Crucible vision or the Crucible steering committee are not elitist, they are certainly different. It might be difficult to set Crucible within the boundaries of the Jesus movement, although even defining any such boundaries would be difficult. Many in the wider Jesus movement would have difficulty relating to Crucible, if they knew at firsthand what it was like. Yet, at the Jesus People's Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz mountains over Memorial Day 1972, there were many inquiries about Crucible. When Jack Sparks and other members of CWLF went on a nationwide two-month tour in the spring of 1973, the Crucible was more asked about than almost anything else. Perhaps it was a blank-check vision which dreamers filled in to their own satisfaction.

It is not easy to pinpoint the significant variables in the lives of those people who probably will be increasingly drawn to the direction Crucible seems to be taking. Generally they are more educated, somewhat older, probably more personally mature, more decided about what they want to do with their lives or at least agreed on the right questions, more intellectual, more into something specific which gives them satisfaction and to which they devote considerable thought and energy. But there are conspicuous exceptions. There are people in CWLF who generally fit this description but who probably will never become involved in Crucible. In some cases, that is because of other involvements which may serve the same function for them as Crucible does for others. Street Theater would be an example. Another important variable would be whether one finds one's chief reality on the streets—Crucible doesn't; or in culture or the arts or intellectual endeavors—Crucible does.

The idea that one's thing becomes one's ministry is scarcely unique to Crucible. It is obvious in Street Theater and in Right On. It is obvious for those committed to street witnessing or studying the occult or working on problems of sexual identity or staying involved with political radicals. It is also true for those who choose the Ranch, not as an escape from a too heavy Berkeley scene but because they like to be there. One Crucible steering committee member warned against a "fundamentalist masochism," which assumes that your "thing" must not be God-pleasing if you are enjoying it.

Crucible's decision to stop searching for an audience and begin looking for a style of life is different only in that Crucible deliberately and openly asked itself all these questions and arrived at certain answers. Jesus Freaks on rural communes in Northern California have probably traveled similar paths, perhaps without as much introspection and with considerably more language about the will of God, God's call, God moving them to certain ministries, God directing, etc. Susan moved from her tutoring ministry ("It won't continue next school year if I have to lead it") to the emerging "Genesis Institute," considered below, because the latter promised to do more for her than the former—or because the Lord could do more with her unique personality and talents in the latter than in the former. To say that the Lord is leading or calling or directing is one way of viewing the process. There are others.

Yet there are always present "rumors of angels" in the form of impulses, goals, visions, commitments which are more difficult to explain in terms of self-interest or background variables. There are concerns being expressed in Crucible for stretching the vision, or having it stretched, for the larger Christian witness God may be calling people to, for self-sacrifice. The function of a group for the individual participant is not the whole story.

Whether Crucible will experience any of the dramatic "successes" of the Jesus movement is difficult to predict. The people presently devoted to Crucible, especially the steering committee, are probably too diverse a group with too many interests and too much introspection to troop off after any charismatic leader with a new vision. These people spend too much time analyzing the will of the Lord amidst the ambiguity of life to be taken captive by anyone with a tickle in his ear and a direct line to God. Or hasn't he come along yet?

These people may also be wary of institutions. Partly, this is because they have left institutions to devote themselves to the life-style they are now working on. To this working and sharing together in freedom they can devote themselves joyfully and with great energy. If a new institution were to arise, on the other hand, some on the steering committee would have to see it expressing certain theological or other ideas and shapes before they could live within it. Perhaps enthusiasm and energies among such groups flourish as long as a shape does not emerge specific enough to turn anybody off. That would seem to be part of the reason for the fragmentation on the Left and among the counterculture and communal enthusiasts generally. It is why some "realists" call for coalitions. The discovery of some that coalitions can thrive and be appealing as well when the organic cement of a common community of people with centered lives is added may be a discovery the Crucible also seems to be making. Mind-sets and histories and principles seem less real then than the experienced reality of real brothers and sisters committing themselves to a vision and to each other, unafraid to be fully themselves in the process.

Rising Son Ranch

In 1971 Pat, one of the three early missionaries to Berkeley, and Weldon, a friend of CWLF who had been praying about a Jesus movement within the counterculture, began discussing the need for a place "where you can get kids off the streets, out into the woods, where they can be free from distractions enough to really set their minds on the Lord during their early days as Christians." They saw the need for an isolated place which could be purchased cheaply and a brother or a couple who would be the "parents" for such a family. They wanted someone centered around a personal relationship to Christ, firm but gentle, full of concern for people, not on a power trip, sympathetic to individual differences, and committed to nourishing a whole family along. Weldon decided there was nobody like that. Pat decided that was a good description of Weldon. Weldon protested, then prayed, then ended up taking his wife and two children to an abandoned chicken ranch near Garberville in Northern California which he and Pat were able to purchase cheaply. Another couple also joined them.

At first Weldon and his family moved into a comfortable house near the ranch, from where they hoped to minister to the people who would come to live at the ranch. The owner of that house soon forced them to leave when more and more hippies began to show up from the ranch. Weldon and his wife were conservative, middle-class people. The primitive ranch looked like a horror. In the dead of winter with constant rain and snow, they told God that if a clear day came the day they had to leave their present house they would move to the ranch. It did. Fifteen trips in a small pickup to a small dirty house. Most of their accumulated belongings were stored in an old garage with a dirt floor. The whole family slept in one room, the children on mattresses on the floor and two dogs also on the floor. Another couple slept in another room of the house. They cried often and long. They tried to hand over all their things, not to mention their lives, to the Lord. Within two weeks nearby ranchers shot their two dogs. They felt everything from the past was being torn away from them. Meanwhile they were trying to get the water system to work and the wiring to be safe.

There were as many problems with the locals as there were with those who came to stay at the ranch in the first few months. Ranchers and townspeople were suspicious. When Weldon let his hair grow and wore his ranch clothes everywhere, people became resentful. He spoke at the high school graduation over the objections of many, and talked about Jesus. The Rising Son Ranch sign was torn down several times and run over, presumably by people who hated hippies.

Meanwhile, a small community was coming into being—people crashing from the highway, people wandering in from nearby communes, people up from Berkeley. One of the chief purposes of the Ranch has been to implant a Christian witness in the middle of the rural hippie commune country—Humboldt County of Northern California. There were heavy drug scenes and burned-out radicals from Berkeley and occasional violence and fires started accidentally by stoned ecology freaks. The two couples and the small community which developed more or less around them felt they were being used by God as a kind of witness. People who stopped by thought they saw something different, some invisible factor which made this commune more together than others they had visited or been a part of. Some stayed to find out what it was. The missing factor was Christ, these brothers and sisters told them.

There were serious water shortages the first summer. As the number of people grew they knew they would need more buildings and a work area. When the community joined in prayer for lumber Weldon got a phone call from a friend in Los Gatos who asked if they needed lumber. Amidst much rejoicing, astonishment, and praising the Lord, Weldon related her offer of $800 to the whole community. Eventually there was the house where the couples who were house parents for the Ranch lived, an old two-story chicken house with bunks for fifteen men upstairs and a shop downstairs, another house with living quarters for women upstairs and the communal kitchen and dining area downstairs, an old trailer, and a garage.

From 1972 to 1973 there were three couples serving as house parents and from five to ten brothers and sisters living on the Ranch with them. (Weldon and his family had moved back to the city.) There was an insistence that all rise at about the same time every morning, that all meals be eaten together, and that every morning be devoted to the work that needed to be done. Lack of water, poor soil, and steep terrain made any kind of farming impossible, and the small garden was not enough to keep more than one person busy. Most of the financial support for the Ranch came through support money sent to Billy, a CWLF elder and the new leader on the Ranch. He had many Christian friends in Texas who supported this ministry. Some who stayed at the Ranch could contribute a few dollars a month, some a little more, and some nothing. There were Bible studies three nights a week, and all were expected to participate.

Occasionally there were "rice Christians" who went through the motions they considered necessary to acquire a place to stay and food. Discipline was present to the extent necessary to get people to work on the tasks assigned, to get up together, and to eat together. A few were asked to leave—because their life-style or beliefs were deemed a threat to other young Christians on the Ranch. No one was asked to leave simply because he had not yet accepted the Lord. Usually all three couples had to agree before someone was asked to leave. This probably resulted in some people staying too long and exercising an influence detrimental to the community.

✓ The continually changing community took a heavy toll on the couples who guided the Ranch ministry. Besides implanting a Christian witness in the heart of the commune country, the Ranch ministry also existed to get people who needed it away from the Berkeley scene, to allow people to work in nature and with their hands, and to let people grow into and experience a Christian family. The very circumstances guaranteed that all of these goals would rarely be furthered simultaneously. One brother who in the summer of 1973 returned to Berkeley remarked: "There's a great strain on the staff members, the couples. Often there is a need for a continual close relationship with a group of total strangers. The effectiveness of the Christian family varies with who is living at the Ranch. There were times when there were only three Christians and perhaps several who were militantly non-Christian. Anyone who came at that time would not have been overwhelmed by a sense of Christian family. Yet we wanted to stay as open as possible to people coming in off the road or referred to us by other communes."

For the stability of the Ranch and the nourishment and strength that a Christian community needed from each other, it was felt that three couples at the Ranch were ideal. They could strengthen one another and better exercise a Christian influence on the affairs of the whole Ranch community. The brother quoted above had been asked, with his wife, in the summer of 1972 to go up to the Ranch for a year, to lend moral support to the people already there. He was happy to get away from Berkeley for awhile and thought he would have much time for reading and writing. That did not happen. Yet he lists several personal benefits to him for his year on the Ranch staff. "I learned to relate to kids in Christian love. I received a real ongoing education as a Christian, especially through the strains put on me. I also expanded my interest in crafts and art to leather work. I learned I'm not called to a pastoral ministry and I had wondered about that. Now I know. Mostly my year allowed me to clear my head and get more settled on the direction my life in the Lord is taking." He feels that the latter may be the chief function of the Ranch ministry—for staff and anyone else who stays long enough.

The Ranch's ministry to the surrounding area is informal and casual. They do very little visiting or calling around, but they are always meeting people in town and they always welcome all who drop by. The fairly dramatic influx of visitors who came to stay from other communes early in the Ranch's history is no longer happening. Yet there are people who stop by to work on their cars with the tools the Ranch readily allows them to use. They see their ministry in terms of being good neighbors and being together as a Christian community in ways that make all visitors wonder and want to ask why. People nearby also know that in cases of need they can count on the Ranch. At Christmas time

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the members of Rising Son Ranch made many candles and took them around as presents to people on communes in the area. Small numbers of Christians have arisen around the area and have begun Bible studies, discussion groups, and witnesses of various kinds. The staff at Rising Son has been committed to encouraging such people to stay where they are and carry on their own witness. There were times, especially in the beginning, when such young Christians insisted it would be impossible to stay where they were and continue in their Christian life.

Most of the "success stories" the Ranch has had have happened with people who have stayed longer than a few weeks. Of course, there were brothers and sisters who came for an evening and accepted Christ. Sometimes they moved on immediately and no one knows where they are now. "Probably the people who stayed longer were committed to finding an answer to their search in life. That's very important for anyone potentially coming to the Lord. Others were still into just wandering around." Because of the transiency, the whole community on the Ranch is rarely really together and strong. But often a majority of those staying have a strong and integrated community. The question is whether those staying on the fringe looking in will become interested enough to ask for more, including asking for a personal relationship with the Father, before they decide to move on. There are some who leave before the staff thinks anything has happened to them and say later that the Ranch changed their lives.

By 1973 there were two couples at the Ranch. The one couple had been very effective in campus ministry in Berkeley and there is some encouragement for them to return. The future of the Ranch in the summer of 1973 was quite uncertain. There was talk of closing it, selling it, and investing the money in some other kind of Christian ministry, perhaps another ranch elsewhere. The number of people on the Ranch was much smaller than in the early days. Before the end of the year the Ranch was sold and its ministry ended.

The Rising Son Ranch had been a Christian presence in commune country and a Christian family to all kinds of people, some of whom came to scoff and remained to pray. Like many other CWLF ministries it reflected the energy and style of "do it," when some need is felt and prayed over and some strategy is deemed appropriate. As other ministries came to be more important and when the Ranch in its present location seemed to have served its purpose, CWLF moved elsewhere. They believe they have left behind in Humboldt County a few Christians committed to carrying on that kind of ministry and many Christians, God knows where, who came to Christ or grew in Christ while they stayed at the Ranch.

Christian Houses

CWLF's first Christian House just happened. Jack and his family and Pat and his wife were living together in a large house near campus. They held their Monday evening Bible studies there and often fed new brothers and sisters or crashers. Jack became convinced that this house would have to become a home for some of the people who were coming into the Father's Family. Pat did not agree, but consented. He and his wife moved into a smaller house nearby.

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Within a few weeks people began to come and stay. Jack and his wife, Esther, became house parents to a crowded and difficult house. Most of the people were those who had just discovered Jesus, people who needed a place to stay for awhile, people who required a refuge from the drug scene, people who needed to experience a Christian family. Some were just crashers. Many were too lazy or spaced out or disorganized or unthoughtful to do anything but eat, and Esther complained of doing all the work. Jack and Esther had no experience in organizing and supervising a large household of relative strangers. Jack called a house meeting, talked about the problem. The house decided a list of jobs needing to be done should be posted but refused to get any more structured than that. A few worked hard, many worked half-heartedly, some worked not at all.

Jack has written about one of the early members of the household, Wes, who had been around the hip and drug scene for a long time.

> Heavy use of acid had really messed up his mind. Naturally strong-minded and stubborn, he found it hard to submit himself to God or to fellow humans for guidance or direction. So Wes would get it into his head that since he had the Holy Spirit in him, all he had to do was listen to the voice within—and nobody should be giving him instructions. Like the time he read a book on fasting and decided he should go on a forty-day fast.
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> After three days of no food, Wes was so irritable he couldn't get along with anybody. Pat tentatively suggested that he might have fasted long enough for a first time and Wes slammed out of the house shouting that nobody less than God had any right to stop him. Nobody saw him for about ten days. When he reappeared, he had a faraway look in his eyes and talked vaguely of visions and spiritual experiences far beyond the understanding of the rest of the household. He was hard to live with.
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> Weird spiritual ideas flowed from his lips as he talked of his newfound confidence gained by fasting. When Jack gently rebuked him for one impossible claim, Wes turned on him angrily, "Who are you to tell me? Have you ever fasted for fifteen days?" "No." "Then don't talk to me about spiritual understanding." That took awhile to work out.

Wes and other new family members tended to bring their street friends home to dinner, or to stay a few days. There were times when Esther prepared food for twelve and found thirty debating Bible students in her dining room. Often the bizarre guests were difficult for Jack and Esther to understand or even converse with. There was often feuding within the household and constant frustrations and disappointments for Jack and Esther. The role and responsibility of a house member was never really resolved in that first year. Occasionally someone left in wild anger and never returned. Sometimes Jack and Pat would insist that someone leave.

Fortunately there were also strong young Christians who came to live there, some by Jack and Pat's invitation. They helped with the street and house ministry. Jack tried to call the entire household to prayer and Bible study every morning, and there were long spiritual discussions after nearly every evening meal.

Before a year was out, however, the house was broken up. A neighbor threatened the house with a civil suit, decrying the overpopulation of the house, the large numbers of people coming for Monday night meetings, and the lowering of his property value. Later the CWLF community saw that as an act of God "to do some realignment. There were more people in the house who needed spiritual help than could be looked after adequately and Jack in particular was caught in a whirl from which he didn't know how to extricate himself." After much prayer the community decided to move rather than fight in court. "God had a better plan—not one house but three." Jack and Esther went temporarily to a smaller house with their children, taking two others with them. A woman gave her equity in a house and some of the brothers went there to found Agape House. At the same time a group of the brothers and sisters rented a duplex, men on one side and women on the other, and called it "House of Pergamos." This Jack later saw as a "major step in sinking the roots of the fellowship into the Berkeley scene and gaining stability. The so-called 'Christian House' concept has its problems—largely in lack of stability and maturity of leadership. Moreover, it should not be considered as a permanent home for any given person. But in Berkeley these homes have served and still serve as artificial Christian families to give the new believer a compatible context in which to grow."

The House ministries continued to grow. Some houses came apart and new ones started up. Agape House flourished, even amidst a serious fire caused by carelessness and lack of jobs for most of its residents. Then when there was no more leadership, the House passed out of CWLF hands.

A set of apartments came to be known as God's Love. In the same building, located in a black ghetto, were all the CWLF offices. When steps to an attic were found, even more crashers could be accommodated at God's Love. As many as thirty sometimes stayed there. The House was often visited by winos from the area, by hard-core heroin addicts from its "drugstore" parking lot, once by a brother who answered "I'm here" to an impassioned "Dear Lord Jesus, come quickly" prayer from another brother. Late one evening a strange man sat in the House library and said, after some prolonged conversation, "I and the Father are one." The elder in charge of the House of God's Love said, "In the name of Jesus, leave." He did. The House served dinner to all comers every Friday evening and followed with Bible study and discussion. This is a pattern that very many evangelical groups in Berkeley have followed. (University Lutheran chapel in Berkeley has for some time served evening meals, but with no Bible study and directed discussion following. An evening with both courses may be possible to bring off only by a family or household in a House setting.)

The Houses were constantly dealing with people whose entire pasts made it nearly impossible for them to come to terms with the authority the Houses thought necessary. There were also syncretists who perplexed the Houses—people who talked about their relationship to the Father and also about all the other spiritual trips they were into. People who could not imagine a new life that would not include heavy drug use. There were defeats and spectacular, joyous successes. "Brothers and sisters who struggled and hassled and grew for months or a year and eventually moved on, new people, eager to take a place in the Father's world, often back in their own homes or hometowns, strong in the Father's Family and fresh for his tasks."

Mature leadership was probably the most important predicter of House success. Jack suggested that the good House leader must know and be sympathetic to the phases that many young Christians go through. He should also not expect to solve a House's problems or get it together by withdrawal, calling the House members away from outside contacts and ministries until they are functioning smoothly as a House. That day will never come. Jack has written about three criteria for any group of believers to meet, but especially a House. They are truisms, but often forgotten. (1) The members must commit themselves to a close personal relationship with the Lord. This is something to work on, to grow into more and more. (2) All need to see themselves as a group tied together by God's love and therefore committed to caring for one another. (3) They must see a call to bring God's life to a crippled world around them.

In the summer of 1973 Dwight House had been CWLF's main house for over two years. In its basement were CWLF and Right On offices. In its living room all family meetings were held. Upstairs lived ten to twelve brothers and sisters from CWLF, most often people who were in staff positions, but usually including a few who were very young in their Christian life or even not yet committed to Christ.

A brother who has lived in and had charge of Dwight House for eighteen months says about Christian Houses: "Ideally, a Christian House is a temporary group housing for Christians young in the faith and single to be able to get together and encourage one another in the faith. A House needs a leader who is a good pastor-servant. There must be a willingness of house members to submit themselves to the Lord and to one another."

Dwight House functions with minimal rules. No drugs are allowed. There is smoking only in one's own room and with the consent of roommates. All are expected to share in the responsibility of the housework, but there are no set times and few specifically assigned responsibilities. The brother in charge of the House happens to do most of the cooking, but this is by no means the rule. It is normally expected that House members will be committed to one area of CWLF ministry. House meetings are held twice a month. In the past there was a CWLF elder, Larry, who had overall responsibility for the House.

Dwight House is very unstructured and its members have much more freedom than is typical of Jesus Houses elsewhere. Not only are there no rigid work schedules, but there is also no set devotional or worship time. Many times when CWLF's family meeting is going on in Dwight House's living room, several of the very members of the House will not be in attendance. Occasionally there are attempts to get the House together for morning Bible study or prayer, but these attempts have been both irregular and not welcomed by all. One of the reasons for this is the activities of the House members. They may be occupied away from the House at different times. There is also no rule that all House members eat together, which is a rule both of CWLF's Ranch and of most Jesus Houses. No common lunch is served, but there is a common evening meal. Yet, if for reasons of diet, withdrawal, or personal preference, some in the House do not wish to eat the evening meal in common, they are allowed not to do so. In the summer of 1973, for example, three sisters in the House were not eating any meals in common with the rest of the House. Board was $25 a month and room $50 a month.

The brother in charge says he exercises little overt authority. He usually "just asks people. I'd rather treat people as adults and equals." If things come to it, however, the brother's word is law, even to the point of eviction. He says if he had it do so over again he is not sure he would have a co-ed house. "All the hassles women go through are just too much for a brother to deal with. That's why it's best if a Christian couple, mature in the Lord, can be in charge of a Christian House." He also believes that the young Christians in the House, precisely because the House is a ministry directed to the counterculture, should be encouraged to work for their support.

Perhaps the most significant change in CWLF's Houses in four years is that the Houses in no way "advertise as a crashpad." Formerly they did, and at least for the first two years of CWLF's history, crashing was not uncommon. Indeed, a ministry to crashers was one of the chief ministries of the Houses. Now most people in the Houses are already Christians, and many are simply people on the staff of CWLF. The Houses have almost become homes specifically for the staff. If a crasher comes to Dwight House, he is admitted only if one or more members of the House take specific responsibility for him and invite him in. The person who takes responsibility for the crasher is expected to see that he gets fed, that he has a place to sleep, and that he is not neglected spiritually or conversationally. Theoretically, this is an ideal setup and fosters real commitment to crashers. Practically, it means there are far fewer crashers than in the "old days." House members feel they are just too busy to carry on a ministry to crashers. A few are that busy. A few others are too immature and not together enough themselves for such a ministry. Still others are simply too lazy

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or unconcerned. The change in House policy and attitude toward crashers undoubtedly is a reflection of the general disconnection with the streets that is becoming increasingly characteristic of CWLF. The coalition or team of creative ministries is much more predominant an identity than a family into which young people off the streets can grow into mature Christianity. Partly this change in the Houses has come about from a realistic look at the many failures of the early Houses. Already after the first year Jack Sparks realized that he had taken on more than he could handle. The Houses were full of people, but only inadequate attention was being given to their spiritual needs and Christian growth. The emphasis in the Houses began to shift from wide recruitment and conversion to more careful and pointed attention to Christian nurture and growth. It is possible to talk about the institutionalization of the Christian Houses, or at least their evolution from free and reckless and spontaneous ministries to all comers toward homes for mostly CWLF staff people. Yet the latter is more true of Dwight House than other Houses in CWLF. There have been far fewer staff members, as such, at the other Houses and there has been among them a continued ministry to young Christians, often young people with real problems getting themselves together in the Lord.

Richmond House, in the city of Richmond a few miles north of Berkeley, is probably the most different from Dwight House. It has been all male, much more disciplined, much more "thank you Jesus" and has had a far greater sense of close community and real brotherhood. It is probably more like the Jesus Houses to be found generally in the Jesus movement than any other House in CWLF, though it too might appear relatively unstructured compared to many Houses in the Jesus movement. There is a brother in charge of the House and a CWLF elder who has given considerable time to the development and strengthening of the House. It is often considered the most unified House, with the greatest sense of a common family of brothers helping each other grow and caring about one another.

The life of CWLF's Houses is the life described in Chapter IV. There are people so busy they can scarcely find a moment to themselves. There are people who lounge around most of the day, walk down to Telegraph Avenue, visit a few brothers or sisters, think about some things they ought to be doing, and putter around with their little preoccupations. A sister at Dwight House needs counseling badly, is fighting a court action in Michigan so that her five-year-old son can join her, is depressed and sometimes suicidal, and is extremely ambivalent toward the one sister in the House who has spent endless time trying to relate to her. She calls her her deepest friend and has attacked her several times, knocking her down, beating on her, and threatening her. The brother in charge of Dwight House pleads with God and the community for help or advice. Should he evict her? How much longer can they keep her? Will they be able to persuade her to get professional counseling? Are they doing her any good? Is she coming to the Lord?

An intern whom CWLF invited to come to Berkeley to help him get his personality together is, for some reason, given charge of a House. The House members minister to him a good deal while he spends much time lamenting their lack of discipline and responsibility. When the year is over, some people think the brother has grown up a little and may even understand and love himself and his wife a little more.

Most important for all the Houses is that individual people learn a caring responsibility for other people and experience being cared for. They learn what a reasonably healthy family can be. They begin overcoming fear and loneliness. They experience love and joy and genuine friendship. They learn alternatives not only to drugs and heavy sex, but to competition and jealousy and power trips. They find honesty, acceptance, human warmth. They expend themselves caring for and about brothers and sisters—people who may drain them, hang on them, depend on them, frustrate them. They learn to listen to one another. For many who have led bizarre and incredibly messed-up lives, all this IS a full-time occupation. What, after all, are a few months or even a year or more if one's whole life is finally getting together, if one's self is finally getting centered, if a new future is being worked out or prepared for, if the past is finally atoned for, or worked through, or forgotten, or overcome? In the best cases, new people are coming out of the Christian Houses. One could call them rehabilitated people or resocialized people. One could speak of the Houses as resocialization stations, where people who were never successfully socialized into a real family are now experiencing it or people whose secondary socialization with schools and peers has been a disaster are now finding a new adolescence being offered and created for them and a new preparation for mature responsibility made possible. Erling Jorstad has written about some of the Jesus Houses and the life in them:

> Having control over their own world and their own future, they find the inner resources to cope with their personal problems. Their own sense of self-esteem grows in communal living as each member encourages the others to find love and joy and to express it in worship and witness.
>
> To outsiders this kind of living might sound dull and unchallenging—no steady employment, no clear future plans, no familiar amusements, nothing that seems "normal." But to the participants the experience opens up new opportunities for personal growth. Wanting so hard to believe in something which would fill their lives with direction and happiness, they find that by "grooving on Jesus" they are sharing the most important thing in their lives with others who had the same hang-ups and the same joy in knowing they have been saved. By a communal life which continually shows them that they have been born again and are truly saved from drugs, alcohol, fear of failure or whatever, the Jesus converts celebrate their new lives. They really believe the Bible when it says, "If any one is in Christ, he is a new creation."[10]

From the Houses many move on to their own apartments, to marriage, to ministries elsewhere, perhaps back to their own hometowns or families. No one in leadership sees the Houses as permanent solutions for any brothers and sisters. There have been no attempts in CWLF to establish the Houses as more or less permanent communes or "intentional communities." Tony and Susan Alamo's definition of their Los Angeles Christian Foundation's communes as places "for those willing to lead the true Christian life" is much too restrictive and rigid an idea of what the Christian life ought to be for anyone in CWLF. There may be some attempts in the wider Jesus movement, however, to establish communes as a more than temporary place for newly developing Christian communities to stay and live. Such efforts will best happen where the sense of ministry is one of a total family ministering to each other and to its neighborhood or geographical area. This is true, for example, of the many Jesus ranches, some of which, such as Lighthouse Ranch in Eureka, California, are quite large, having up to two hundred members. Such movements have, perhaps by inclination and certainly by necessity, much more discipline than CWLF has ever been comfortable with.

Benjamin Zablocki[11] has written about the intense individualism and even insistence on anarchic communal arrangements which characterize many of the hippie, drug, or countercultural communes. They have remarkably short lives and are as strong as the members with the weakest commitments. People who are not "into winter" do not worry about cutting wood! After reading Zablocki's observations, it is easy to understand the frequent talk among Jesus People of the necessity of "submitting" in Christian Houses and communes. One has to say that in many cases this means submitting to each other, not to some authoritarian leader, though there are evidences of the latter, too.

Whatever may have been the later evolution of CWLF's Houses, they originally happened, in Jack Sparks's words, "because we had to show that what we were talking about, a Forever Family, could really happen in Berkeley. We had to be one." While the Houses continue to serve necessary and crucial functions, it is probably true that CWLF can no longer be characterized, if it ever was, as a truly radical attempt at community. It is remarkably successful as a coalition which has fostered many creative ministries. The attempt to create a communal radical Christian family, if it was ever a goal, is largely abandoned, though the goal of a radical Christian presence in Berkeley is stronger than ever, especially if that presence means a coalition of talented and creative evangelical Christians. There are some who keep the former idea alive. There may be some in Crucible who dream of such a community. There are some who want to act out such a presence at the block or neighborhood level, if not at a communal family level. The Oneida-like goal of "having a worldwide impact on the youth scene through the influence of this place" has shifted from radical community to radical ministries. One might argue, however, that the commitment or even dream of an intentional community, a communal family, was never that overt or strong. The early Christian House in Berkeley, after all, just happened—even if, in Jack Sparks's view, it happened inevitably. One could also suggest that the people most influential in CWLF's evolution and in its first arrival were more committed to direct outreach and aggressive presence and channeled their energies more in that direction than into an intentional community. In Bryan Wilson's terms, they were much more conversionist than introversionist.[12]

The Interns

During the 1972-73 school year CWLF had two full-time interns. One was on leave from his Seminary for a year and the other was a student at Oakland's California College of Arts and Crafts. The seminarian had come in an effort to find his head and work out his personal problems. The Seminary was going to refuse to let him return for his final year, and then worked out this arrangement with CWLF. In the summer of 1973 he left Berkeley and returned for his final year at the Seminary. While in Berkeley he was in charge of one of CWLF's Christian Houses and did some teaching. It is doubtful that Berkeley was the place to come to work out personal problems. The other intern was working out his alternative service as a Conscientious Objector through CWLF's ministries.

In the summer of 1973 CWLF welcomed five men and four women interns. They were all from colleges or seminaries. Some will likely return to CWLF full-time after they return for their last year(s) of school, and a couple will be staying for the coming academic year. All of them either heard of CWLF and wrote to make arrangements to come as interns or were known by Jack and were invited to come. Each is responsible for his own support while in Berkeley. All live at the Grove Street House, a house which CWLF has rented with a lease-option for one year. The only criterion Jack used in deciding whether someone should come was "whether they could operate in our free and easy environment. If someone needed a lot of supervision, then we would not want them to come. We give them little assignments and I try to check in at the intern house every day or so, but mostly we just show them around, let them see what the situation is, and decide what they would like to be doing. We give them as much freedom as possible."

It is questionable whether the intern program is as valuable as it might be. The tremendous freedom given may be appropriate to very self-actualizing individuals who come to Berkeley with a firm idea of what they want to accomplish. For some others, the year or summer may be spent with little direction, much wasted time, and not a lot accomplished. Yet the excitement of Berkeley and the experience of being in and around CWLF is enough for many. They learn much, even if sometimes they do not give much, and presumably take back stronger commitments and more developed ideas about what they would like to do with their lives as Christians. The "free and easy environment" of CWLF and the willingness to let all comers be on their own and move in whatever directions they find God leading them have been hallmarks of CWLF in the past and presumably that style will not be changing.

From Tutoring to Sex Institute

A good example of the ad hoc nature of CWLF ministries, the flexibility and freedom allowed CWLF staffers, and the natural movement toward ministries where one is most existentially involved, is Susan's development of the tutoring ministry in the 1972-73 school year, and her movement in the summer of 1973 toward a new ministry the next year.

Susan had prayed about some kind of ministry to Berkeley High School students for months and kept feeling that the Lord had laid this concern on her heart. Although CWLF had never before worked with high school students specifically and generally did not consider that age group its primary audience, she was always encouraged. "We will pray for you and with you. We'll back you. Let's see where the Lord leads you. Keep at it." Susan met with the principal and several teachers of Berkeley High School, discussed her plan, and was welcomed to the campus. She put up posters all over town asking for volunteers for such a ministry. Over half of those involved in the tutoring program were not connected at all with CWLF. There was no overt evangelism when they were with the students, only the attempt to love them, listen to them, care about them, and help them develop their reading or math skills. The tutoring ministers met weekly to discuss their ministry and to pray for the kids involved. Most found the ministry very rewarding. About halfway through the year Susan expressed some regret that the students she had hoped to reach were not being reached. She had come out of a radical scene, had been a rebellious and intelligent student, had experimented with drugs and sex, and hoped that the Lord would use her with precisely these kinds of students. But such students did not want or did not need tutoring. The avant-garde of the high school was not at all being reached by the tutoring program, but those who were simply slow were.

Whether the tutoring program would continue in 1973-74 would depend on God and someone else, Susan said. She moved to a new ministry. At the January New Year's celebration Susan startled a CWLF retreat by talking about problems of sexual identity she was having as a Christian. Immediately there was a response from not a few brothers and sisters who had up until then been afraid to talk about such things. A weekly meeting began at Jerry's house and he and Susan became the leaders of this group. Mostly it was a sharing group where people who came to trust one another tried to talk about sexual problems they were having as Christians. Some who attended were not Christians. A solid nucleus of people committed to this ongoing discussion (and therapy of a sort) developed and they began to reach other people struggling with such problems.

Jerry believed he had already committed himself, almost as a life's work, to studying, writing, and working on such problems, and

Susan became increasingly interested in a ministry in that direction. In the early summer of 1973 they talked of beginning a "Sex Institute," although they and everyone else were amused at such a name. Eventually, they agreed on the name "Genesis: Institute of Continuing Creation." The group which had begun meeting on Sundays had extended to a Wednesday meeting as well, "with more teaching kinds of things." They decided to give this ministry a name so that "people would have something to hang onto."

The goals of this new ministry were the dissemination of an initial booklet by Jerry, developing other literature, being present in the gay scene, various activities such as weekend retreats, etc. They dreamed of publishing "maybe a quarterly" eventually. Jerry said, "Our institute, it's really not that formal yet, will be a place for people to come and get their hang-ups out in the open. It's the first time such a thing is happening. The development of a Christian view of sex in an atmosphere of complete openness and honesty with no fear and condemnation. My hope is that also couples will come. The information they could give would be of much help. A lot of people just don't know much. We're interested not in just sex per se, but in total human beings. We want to emphasize that when people come, they come as needy persons not as great spiritual leaders or sexperts. We have a sort of core group, not really formalized. But we have a feeling for where we've come from and what our aims are." There are about a dozen in that core group.

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At a Berkeley picnic which helped to inaugurate Gay Consciousness Week, brothers and sisters from "Genesis" were on the scene, talking with people and passing out a pamphlet which read: "gay? straight? confused? SEX AND THE SPIRIT. Sunday at 7:00 we are meeting together to discuss our sexuality in an atmosphere of openness and honesty. We are discovering how our sexuality relates to our spirituality and how love can transform our sexual lives. Come and be with us." The Dwight House address was given and phone numbers for four members of the group, two in the East Bay, one in San Francisco, and one in Palo Alto.

For several months the group experienced a strong response, both among Christians and among those who might describe themselves as searching. While they could never be sure of where their audience was at or whether they were Christians at all, the meeting was overtly Christian, not only with some Christian teaching but with much prayer. Yet there was at the same time complete acceptance of people; no trips, legalistic or otherwise, were laid on anyone, and there was a sense of a common search for answers and meaningful sexual identity. Of course, outsiders could come into the meeting with the intent to come down heavy on one expression or another, to give the "answer" to sexual problems they had found. If such answers or trips seemed unchristian, the core group or any other Christians might pray harder, hang in there, and gently counter with what they were experiencing or what tentative conclusions they had come to. The total atmosphere was one that would be very unlikely to happen among most evangelical Christians. And the amount of prayer that went on and the overt spirituality of the meeting would be very unlikely to be present among liberal Christians (or campus ministry type discussion groups) sponsoring such a discussion with that kind of audience. It is especially amazing to Jerry and Susan that things went as well as they did. They often talked about how potentially heavy the meeting was, about the presence of "some pretty alien spirits" at such meetings, and how hard they were praying and how much they needed the prayers of all in the group. Many in CWLF would be unable to maintain the tone that Jerry and Susan and the others set for such meetings. It would be impossible for them not to come down hard on some of the people present and some of the things they said.

Susan felt the Lord had called her to this and qualified her by her own experiences and struggles to engage in such a ministry. Jerry found a group outlet for the very things he was most interested in studying and writing about. Some of the brothers and sisters in CWLF were getting a chance to express their problems and feelings in a nonthreatening and decidedly Christian environment. Some other people, including many in the gay community, were discovering a Christian ministry which seemed to be relating directly to them in an effective, caring, and nonjudgmental way. The evolution of the "Genesis" ministry was a good indication of the creativity and resiliency of CWLF in its fifth year.

Ad Hoc Ministries

The Grand Tour

In the spring of 1973 eight brothers and sisters from CWLF undertook a two-month nationwide tour of selected colleges, universities, and seminaries. In a letter to friends of CWLF asking for prayers and contributions, Jack Sparks wrote: "The Lord has impressed upon us the fact that we have something to offer brothers and sisters in other places across the country as they seek to bring His life to those around them." Through this special tour, CWLF would be "looking for mature, qualified Christians to join with us in our work here," hoped to be "of direct assistance to Christians in places where we go," and expected to be meeting and witnessing to "those whom the Holy Spirit will be drawing into the Father's Family." In each place they spent a day interacting with students, sometimes giving formal presentations in classrooms and chapel services, occasionally speaking on radio, and always seeking out creative ministries they were hearing about. Two brothers went along as a sound and film crew in order later to put together a documentary of the trip. Among the cities they visited were Los Angeles, Dallas, Memphis, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York, Princeton, New Haven, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Madison, St. Louis, and Denver. They traveled in a large van lent them by Pat, one of the early founders of CWLF.

When the group returned they devoted one Monday Night Family Meeting to a report on their trip. They also showed slides, almost all of which were of them rather than of the ministries or places they

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visited or the people they talked to. All expressed great joy at being back in Berkeley. They said they did not realize how much they loved the brothers and sisters here and how comfortable they had become in this situation. Several suggested that people on the road were too straight, stared at them, had trouble accepting them, considered them strange. They also seemed to take almost a delight in how bizarre they were feeling themselves to be and the difficulties people had in relating to people in strange dress, people who were REAL countercultural types. This a rather unattractive characteristic not usually visible among CWLF people. Perhaps it has always been beneath the surface; perhaps the trip brought it out. There seemed, as the brothers and sisters reported on their trip, almost a satisfaction that they had shocked so many people. If they had adapted to the Berkeley scene for their ministry in Berkeley, they seemed uninterested in adapting to any other scene. There was almost a self-righteousness which has rarely been visible in CWLF—suggesting that authentic Christianity will be expressed through countercultural life-style and even clothing, and no other. When pressed on this issue by a few people who had listened to their report, they vaguely retreated from this position. Yet Jack Sparks, especially, sounded more anti-intellectual than he has ever sounded—suggesting that the whole academic scene is just "dust." There was quiet ridicule of people, Christians, on straight trips and people whose problems or responsibilities made it impossible to relate to CWLF's style of ministry. Possibly the flush of the trip, the joy in returning to comfortable ground, the self-reassurance that one's own ministry is worth doing had something to do with the tone of that evening. It is a tone rarely observed among CWLF people.

One brother reported: "We discovered that the Berkeley view of things is not distorted. The East and the occult are prevalent everywhere. That kind of thinking has virtually taken over the youth scene. We saw that Christians in general, but especially in colleges and seminaries, are isolated from reality. They were not taking the counterculture seriously and were impatient to get back to normal. Yet we saw some signs and evidences of stirrings. People looking for ways to break out of a mold, looking for ministries other than sitting around congratulating themselves for being saved. Even Moody has changed. The new president there said Moody should be involved in the community where they find themselves."

Susan talked about a one-man ministry in a black ghetto of Philadelphia that had inspired the whole group. The brother had given up everything, his education, his "chances," to live in a storefront, giving himself and what little money he had to the people of the community. He fed them with peanut butter and jelly sandwiches, and with Bible stories and with his care. "He had all kinds of opportunities to make it big, but he let them all go." Probably few things impress people in the Jesus movement, and people in general, more than someone who has given up much to give himself to a worthy cause, or, to the Lord's leading.

What impressed Susan most was the trend toward gay and women's movements. "Women are becoming politically gay and it will be a real power factor. Many people on Christian campuses were immediately upfront about their sexuality. I've become more convinced than ever of the need for Christians to look at the area of sexuality, what God meant and means it to be. Stop ignoring repressive trips. They're dangerous. I wrote about all this in my prayer letter this month—I may lose a supporter or two. If Christians can be examples in marriage to people really sexually screwed up, it could be great. There were two thousand women in a radical Lesbian organization at Ann Arbor. Their goals and what they are hurting for are right on, they're really after great and good things. But the means. It's Lesbian heresy!"

A new brother to CWLF, who had gone along to film the tour, talked about his future. "I discovered on the trip that God could use me where I thought of leaving, avant-garde films. There are always visionary artists. Where does the vision come from? God or demonic forces? Is it the God of the Bible? I believe much of it is demonic. But I heard God telling me, Stay where you are, keep working where and the way you are working. Don't try to make any specific Christian films. It will come through. It seems bizarre even to talk of Christian avant-garde films. Maybe Christian rock would be the nearest example. But I think God wants me to use what I have in me."

Joyce talked about how shocked she was to find a different and closer relationship with God on the road than when she was involved in the everyday nit-picking of Berkeley (she works in the CWLF office). "When I was just being myself and doing immediate kinds of things, I saw God more clearly than ever. I always felt that people like me who aren't the stars of anything or the dregs of anything never really get a chance to share. But there's a lot of ordinary people like me, not freaks. On the road I really shared with a lot of ordinary people. They were really appreciative. As I became more sympathetic to people, for example gays, God gave me more people to talk to. It was really an exciting trip. I already look back with nostalgia and regret. I really miss that vibrant time."

Jack Sparks talked about campuses. "It hit us hardest what we saw at Christian campuses. Perhaps especially because none of us ever had any contact with Christian seminaries. Most of them are cloistered places, not a lot of life. The most vital groups were the ones in the midst of difficult circumstances. The seminaries were so solidly oriented toward the intellectual thing. It seemed the opposite of real preparation was going on there. There was very little personal interaction with the world around them, especially the non-Christian world. They were outstandingly dead."

To the group that night Jack Sparks listed the reasons why they had gone: to get a picture of the scene on Christian and other college campuses; to give people an idea of what we're doing in Berkeley; to document all this in film format. It sounded like Berkeley had sent out missionaries from the counterculture and they came back, among other things, rejoicing that it had diffused all over the country. There was some joy in being puzzled over by establishment people.

Jack suggested that the "kinds of people threatened by us are the ones with false values. One of the brothers on the trip thinks people shouldn't even be in Seminaries unless they are specifically called there. Personally we're committed more than ever to the people of the counterculture. They're my people and that's where I'm called. I feel more sure of my call than ever. I feel myself more and more called to be with the poor, the despised, the rejected." (Jack had said the same thing, with no little emphasis on social justice and social action, to the audience of Jesus Freaks at the Memorial Day Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz Mountains.)

The film-maker brother added, "I saw it possible to relate to the middle class, too. God enables people from every place to be related to him." The brother continued, on this theme, partially in answer to questions from the audience challenging some of Jack's statements, or their implications. The filmmaker's comments were an important antidote to what was sounding like a countercultural life-style as a new mark of the Christian Church. (God, I thank thee that thou hast not made me middle class. Except you become countercultural, you cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.) Possibly, the well-known and oft-described value of having an enemy or someone to define yourself over against was also playing a role. The scorn of others helps to solidify your own position and draw you closer together with your cadres, makes you strong and proud of what you are, as Eric Hoffer and others have pointed out.

Jack closed his remarks by noting that he "saw so little of being aggressively creative in interaction with people around them. People were wrapped up in themselves. Little was happening."

In the discussion that followed Susan's remarks about sex, a young married sister began haltingly, almost stuttering from happiness:

"I just want to say that God can take somebody who's had it really rough and make it really good. In my childhood I had it really bad in these things. It's nice that God can take our good points. But that he takes our crumminess . . . It's just so exciting, I can hardly go on." Her husband patted her leg when she was through, still glowing, and all who knew her and the story of the sexual trauma of her childhood, smiled wide with love and praise to the Lord.

Such ad hoc ministries as this tour have been characteristic of CWLF. They see them as flexible and creative responses to the movement of the culture and the calling of the Holy Spirit. They were present at the Democratic and Republican conventions in the summer of 1972. They covered the events for Right On, carried on a witnessing and feeding ministry in Flamingo Park (thousands of doughnuts and sandwiches every day) from their Forever Family tent, and distributed leaflets written on the spot to the throngs of people in and around the conventions. They were able to get press credentials, hence access to the Convention Hall, for the Democratic Convention, but not for the Republican.

A small contingent from CWLF has gone to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans and a large number have been active in the major peace demonstrations in San Francisco. A former ministry to the North Beach nightclub and topless area of San Francisco was, in the summer of 1973, reactivated by a small group of brothers who called themselves, in fun, the East Bay Bombers. The revival of this ministry is a good example of the absolute importance of a small nucleus of enthusiastic people who talk it up, much like fraternity brothers on a new project, exude great amounts of enthusiasm, support and urge one another on, and in the process interest a few other people as well. They are having fun in this ministry, yet take it very seriously. They are committed to interaction on a personal level rather than mass leafleting or chanting of slogans.

Workshops

In the summers from 1971 to 1973, CWLF conducted workshops in street Christianity and the media. These workshops were one means through which CWLF could exercise some influence on the wider Jesus movement. They reflected the greater media sophistication, the more intellectual theological positions, the commitment to be a Christian presence within the culture, and the lack of legalism in life-style and witness which were uniquely characteristic of CWLF and not of the wider Jesus movement. Usually less than twenty-five, however, participated in these workshops.

The week-long media workshop in August 1973 offered four sections: "Toward a Radical Christian Press," "Christian Street Theater," "Radio, TV, Film, and Record Production," and "Life-style and World View." Participants chose two of four sections. "Each section of the workshop will feature presentations from brothers and sisters creatively involved in the areas under study. These presentations and the discussions which follow will attempt to pool our knowledge and experience and work toward solidarity in our Christian witness to the world." The brochure noted a cost of $25 for the week, including lodging and two meals a day, or $15 for the workshop only.

The Radical Street Christianity workshop offered in August 1972 promised sixteen different courses over a two-week period, but delivered only about half of them. The elder in charge of planning the workshop had decided the Berkeley scene was burning him out and left for the Rising Son Ranch a month before the workshop was to begin. The ad in Right On read: "Registration fee is $10 for the whole workshop and can be prorated if you can only attend part of it. (If you want to come and don't have the bread—come anyway.)" Many of the brothers and sisters who attended the 1972 workshop were neither prompt nor regular in their participation. Some also arrived late in the two-week session and many left early. Some said that CWLF's life-style was "just not my trip, not enough praising the Lord, too much of a head trip." The publicity for the 1973 workshop was worded explicitly enough so that those who came were more likely to receive what they came for.

Besides daily Bible study and invitations to join in various CWLF ministries in the evening and on the weekend, the 1972 workshop offered courses on Christian literature, Women's Liberation, Christian free university, being a prophet in the culture, Bible study and tools for it, Christianity in a culture called post-Christian, street theater, Christian youth culture newspaper. These were mostly one- or two-hour presentations with discussion.

Here Comes the Son

CWLF has also produced a film, "Here Comes the Son," which they have shown widely in the Bay Area, especially to Christian groups interested in their ministry. Two of the brothers had gone to a

Los Angeles film festival and began thinking that all the good films presented problems, but never answers. They decided to do a film which would suggest what they had found in Christ. The film begins with a collage of people and sound effects and a voice screaming louder and louder, "Does someone hear?" The music becomes soft and there is a chronicle of the hunt for truth, brief interviews with people talking about their searches. There is a song about the wrong way and the way that works and testimonies from happy and glowing Christians. Do you want Jesus in your life, do you want a relationship with the living God? "All you gotta say is, yeah I do. It's real, it's true. Jesus." The scene changes to Berkeley and there is a contrast between the Berkeley April Coalition radicals and the Jesus People. The latter are saying that man must be changed first. Give God a chance. There is a scene of baptisms in Ludwig's Fountain on the Berkeley campus. There is preaching on the steps of Sproul Plaza. Jesus is the Way. A new way of life is possible. If you know Christ, you will know reality. The scene changes to the 1971 Spiritual Revolution Day, when hundreds of Jesus People gathered at Sacramento. The film closes suggesting you can know the Truth and it can set you free.

Memorial Day Jesus Festival

On the Memorial Day weekend in 1972 CWLF joined three Jesus movement ranches in Northern California for a festival of teaching, singing, fellowship, and generally praising the Lord together. The 1973 Festival of the Son in the Santa Cruz mountains, also on Memorial Day weekend, was a continuation and an enlargement of this. A sympathetic

Christian offered his large ranch free of charge, and brothers from up and down the Coast met for months prior to plan the Festival.

On Saturday of the 1973 weekend the crowd reached perhaps eight hundred, many relatively straight people from nearby churches. There were large parking areas for cars and a large meadow served as a campground for those with tents or vans. A huge newly mown field, which could hold perhaps two thousand sitting down, was the general gathering area.

It was a Festival of great joy and much praising the Lord, though not especially in the CWLF style. Only about ten brothers and sisters from CWLF came. A large sign welcomes you in the name of the Triune God, praises the Lord for your coming, and lists a few rules for the weekend—park and camp in designated areas, don't be driving you car around during the weekend, no drugs, alcohol, or weapons, keep the place clean, etc.

At the entrance a brother repeated the welcome of the sign and said "Praise the Lord," smiling as broadly as possible. Everybody smiled as broadly as possible the whole weekend, it seemed to anyone who did not typically smile as broadly as possible all the time. The next three brothers you met, pointing you in the right directions, also praised the Lord for your coming, wished you a blessed weekend. Everyone you met hoped the weekend would be a real blessing to you.

All the brothers who were ushers-traffic directors-garbage men-information givers-and "just-in-case" men wore armbands with the title "Servant" embroidered on them. A new group of Servants, perhaps twenty-five, served each day, to give as many brothers a chance as possible.

The Servants were suggested for their duty by elders from their locality.

After you park your car you head on a long walk to the main gathering area. On your way you stop at one of the many outhouses which have been set up, and notice that on the inside door is a large poster with a handwritten Bible verse on it—to contemplate while you are seated. By the end of the weekend you realize that each outhouse has a different Bible verse.

Closer to the gathering place you hear and then see a very large generator which powers all the sound equipment and lights on the stage. When you see the stage and the huge field, you wonder how Jesus spoke to the five thousand without a microphone and how he kept order while the five loaves and two fishes were distributed.

In the crowd you see many small children, a significant number of pregnant women, and not a few middle-aged people, most of the latter from the area, visiting for the day. The speaker is saying, "Everyone's invited to everyone's campsite. Shake hands with your neighbor and say, 'I know the Lord.'" He continues, "A sister suggested we call upon the Lord to bind hay fever through the area for the weekend. Let's all lift that up to the Lord right now. Also there's poison oak throughout the wooded areas. Please be careful." There are many requests for sisters to babysit. On the third day the announcer says he doesn't know why brothers couldn't help, too.

Every morning at 7 a.m., on a hill overlooking the camp, there is a meeting of elders or leaders from all the areas represented. This meeting is a prayer meeting, a discussion of any problems that have arisen, and the setting up of the day's schedule—who feels called to teach or sing or whatever. A double wedding and a baptism also have to be worked into the schedule. At this meeting you discover there are groups from all over California, but especially Northern California, a few from Oregon, and two from New York and Baltimore.

The elders and leaders plan the day very carefully, with strict time limits, all of which are broken. There is an attempt to balance soft and heavy speakers. The master of ceremonies asks if any of the elders know of any brothers in their group who could stay a week and clean up after the Festival is over. "They must be hard-working and humble, willing to be submissive to authority. We don't want people who just want to mellow out in the weeds for a week."

On the schedule are singing groups, teachers, and leaders who could give "Reports on what's happening through the whole Body." There is a warning to teachers that they are responsible for the whole Body. "Don't take someone else's flock and lay a trip on them. People always say 'the Lord gave me something' and then lay a trip on. When you're older in the Lord you mellow and realize that some of the kicks you get on are personal and you see why you shouldn't be laying them on everybody else." The master of ceremonies says at this meeting and again to the whole group in the field, "If there's anybody with the gift of teaching and you have a couple of years in the Lord, you're welcome to come and share it with us. Nothing controversial that's going to blow everybody up. Just a simple Gospel message. We have a lot of different groups here and there may be a lot of different teachings. We just want to come together and share what we have in common." It is significant that this very master of ceremonies heads up the ministry at Lighthouse Ranch, one of the largest in the Jesus movement, and that both this Ranch and probably the majority of the brothers and sisters at the Festival are Pentecostal. Yet never was a "tongue trip" laid on anybody from the speaker's platform the entire weekend. One could hear some speaking in tongues during the mass prayer sessions in the field, but there were never any prayer times given over wholly, by announcements, to speaking in tongues. There was also only one and very subdued healing service. The group sang "He Touched Me" and there were many prayers, but those asking for healing did not come forward and the entire event was decidedly nontheatrical.

The most theatrical event of the weekend and the most exciting was a mass baptism of eighty brothers and sisters in the ranch pond on Sunday afternoon. On Saturday evening, at the conclusion of a newly written rock opera, there was an invitation to all who had not received the Lord to come forward. Many did amidst great praising the Lord and vigorous praying, much of it in the ecstatic murmur of tongues. About 11 a.m. on Sunday, another invitation was given after a sermon on the meaning of Christian commitment and being a disciple of Jesus. Every attempt was made in the message to suggest that becoming a Christian was a great gift of grace and a new life-style, and not just a new bumper sticker or a high sojourn at some commune that turned you on. Many more came forward after this. All who had come forward both times were asked to go to the rear of this field and be instructed for about an hour in the meaning of baptism. The leaders obviously took baptism very seriously and were concerned that no one do it as a lark or for an emotional high—at least that he be thoroughly instructed before he do it. At noon a huge crowd gathered all around the pond and all the baptismal candidates assembled with the leaders who would baptize them at a point where some boards and sunken barrels allowed stepping into the water. Brothers and sisters were baptized one by one while many cameras clicked away and hundreds of voices became heavy with sighs and praises. It was a hot afternoon and the ceremony took much longer than expected, as the eighty candidates took their turns. Two brothers stood in the water, asked each person several questions in a very serious tone, and then, when satisfied, abruptly swept the person backwards and down into the water. On the banks the crowds cheered. When the person came up, depending on how much water he had swallowed or how frightening it had all been, he either stumbled back to the bank or jumped up and down, hugged the baptizers, and shouted praise to the Lord. If he was in sufficient shape to do the latter, the crowd roared appreciatively.

The first few baptisms were rather dry affairs, as the elder who had instructed the whole group pressed in with dead serious questions and ultimately continued the act with no flair whatsoever. When Jack Sparks entered the water the whole ceremony came to life. He shouted at the top of his lungs, as much to the crowd as to the candidate, indeed "before the whole watching universe," a phrase he repeated many times, Why are you here? Who is Lord? What is your name? etc. The crowd loved it. They were cheer leaders in the Lord's grandstand and they thought the very gates of hell were rumbling as they triumphantly thumbed their noses and raised their voices at the demonic forces most certainly gathered in the air around that pond.

When several small children also came forward, a few of the elders, including the two in the water at the time and the one who was the master of ceremonies for the whole weekend, balked, almost seemed annoyed, and then asked their parents if they thought they knew what they were doing. The parents were exuberant, the crowd was pleased, and the children were expectant. What else could they do? The dead-serious-about-baptism grilled the first few children to make sure they knew what they were doing and then obligingly baptized them. Some looked petrified, some were angelic. They were all glad when they were back on the bank.

The wedding that afternoon was a great festival, too. The brides wore home-made white dresses, personally embroidered. One of the grooms had a haircut so short and demeanor so stiff he looked as if he had just arrived from boot camp. A pastor/Jesus movement leader from Oregon preached a long and powerful wedding sermon which moved many to tears and wonder and warm hearts. Indeed, it was a good sermon. A friend sang a wedding song she had written for the occasion. There were traditional vows, with none of the concessions to Women's Liberation normally heard today, and then great joy and prayer throughout the assembly.

In an almost bizarre way Jesus permeated the atmosphere of the whole weekend. A singer comes to the microphone and says, "Testing . . . in the name of Jesus." There is talk of "HIM-books." Any sign warning you not to drive off the road or to clean up your site or whatever always spelled out that other reality dimension in which the whole weekend was happening. "Keep Out—Jesus Loves You." "Off Limits—Praise the Lord." "Nature Walk—Jesus is the Way." The annexation of such phrases to every rule posted throughout the grounds almost annoys you, though to most people there it seems positively delightful. A sign at the roped-off area around the stage says: "No admittance except speakers, sound men . . . and Jesus."

The total scene is one of Jesus exuberance. You notice small pockets of people back in the camp area during presentations in the gathering area. As you check them out you see Bibles open and witnessing or discussions going on. You see four brothers out in the bushes at the far end of the field. Are they telling dirty stories? Talking about girls or cars? You sneak up. They are in heavy debate over a point in the Book of Revelation. During the singing the whole crowd seems to jump up and down and fall all over itself in joy. Sometimes it looks like a country hoedown. By far the greatest number of spontaneous embraces ("I never expected to see you here. Oh, praise the Lord.") are between brothers. Everywhere you overhear earnest conversations, testimonies, admonitions, Bible verses, expressions of delight in the Lord. That is all that is happening. That is the whole show. Everyone seems to be there under the same sacred canopy, they all agree on the signs, and the signs keep reminding them, as if they needed it, of who and what they're all about. One communal group in the campground has a sign near their kitchen area: "It would be a real blessing if you'd put all your plastic spoons in this box." You wander back to the gathering area and hear the announcer say, "The Lord has a wallet up here he wants to give back to . . . . It also has $25 in it." The whole crowd erupts: "Praise the Lord. THANK YOU, Jesus!!"

The 1973 Festival of the Son meant that all kinds of Jesus groups can come together to praise a common Lord and celebrate their unity and diversity in the Body. They are self-conscious of who they are, what the Jesus movement means to them, and of the value of coming together to strengthen one another and present a united witness. Something has happened to the youth culture and their large presence tells it out loud to them and to anybody who wants to look and listen. The Festival also suggested one significant direction many in the Jesus movement had traveled—strongly led rural communes.

You discover that CWLF is highly atypical and at the same time that Jack Sparks is treated with profound respect and listened to. Hardly any leader of import does not know Jack. During one morning elders' meeting, the master of ceremonies said, partly in good humor and partly as a great mark of respect, "If we're all elders, I guess brother Jack here is kind of an apostle."

Notes to Chapter V

[1] C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 27.

[2] William McLoughlin, Billy Graham: Revivalist in a Secular Age (New York: Ronald Press, 1960), p. 19.

[3] Lowell D. Streiker, The Jesus Trip (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971), p. 92.

[4] The Four Spiritual Laws, as printed in hundreds of thousands of tracts handed out by Campus Crusade for Christ, are the following: (1) God loves you, and has a wonderful plan for your life. (2) Man is sinful and separated from God, thus he cannot know and experience God's love and plan for his life. (3) Jesus Christ is God's only provision for man's sin. Through him you can know and experience God's love and plan for your life. (4) We must individually receive Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord; then we can know and experience God's love and plan for our lives.

[5] The Street People (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1971), p. 2.

[6] Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 9.

[7] Ibid., p. 110.

[8] Letters to Street Christians (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971).

[9] Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 150.

[10] Erling Jorstad, That New-Time Religion: The Jesus Revival in America (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), p. 66.

[11] Benjamin Zablocki, The Joyful Community (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 300-320.

[12] Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970).

CHAPTER VI

JESUS: SYMBOL, STYLE, STRUCTURE

The title of this dissertation is "Jesus in Berkeley." It is the story of a Jesus group which evolved from the early efforts of three missionaries who came to make Jesus an issue in Berkeley. CWLF came to be seen, and for a time to see itself, as one part of a national phenomenon called the Jesus movement. So far we have looked at the people who came into the Christian World Liberation Front, at the structure that began to grow around them, at their life-style, and at their ministries. It is time now to look at the one after whom they named themselves: Jesus. That is, we turn now to their doctrine, their ideology, their theology.

To look at the Jesus of CWLF is not to turn away from the task of describing and interpreting a movement and its people. It is to continue that task, but from a different vantage point. We may assume that who Jesus is for CWLF and how he comes to be symbolized are related to the social-psychological shape of the group, that the imagery of Jesus will answer the needs and experiences of those who come to adopt it. That symbolization also arises out of a historical context. An understanding of the group's theology, then, or its symbolization of Jesus, will help to locate it socially, psychologically, and historically.

I do not find it necessary to assume that CWLF's Jesus is only a representation of the group itself, that Jesus is purely a social-psychological construction. I do not insist in a reductionist way that such symbolization does not really "stand for" anything other than the needs and experiences of the group. Whether or in what ways the symbolization of Jesus touches transcendent realities which exist apart from the group, whether God is an "unconditioned independent variable," is an issue I deliberately leave open and do not choose to address here.

I do suggest that a dialectic develops between a group's theological symbolizations and the ongoing life of the group itself. Some symbolizations of Jesus may prove more powerfully evocative than others. Some symbols (or some glimpses of Jesus) may act back upon the group in ways which pull the group along or move it in directions it could not have foreseen or might not have chosen. That is the issue of the dialectical relationship between a religious group and the symbols of transcendent reality it chooses to relate to.[7] Thus the shape of the group not only influences the choice of symbolization but may in turn be influenced by it.

The three issues addressed in this chapter are those of symbol, style, and structure. (1) Who is Jesus for CWLF? That is the question of symbolization and theology. From the question about Jesus, two other issues arise. (2) What is the theological style surrounding and undergirding the symbols of Jesus? How are the symbols used? (3) Finally, what do these disciples of Jesus see themselves called to? What kind of family or community arises? Is there a social ethic? Has CWLF reached a self-conscious position vis-à-vis "the world"?

Underlying the issues of symbol, style, and structure addressed in this chapter is a question about the historical location in American

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Protestantism of the phenomenon that came to be known as the Jesus movement. It is important to describe that location even before addressing the issues of theological symbol, style, and structure, particularly because many critics of the Jesus movement will find it hard to imagine talking about the theology of such an apparently unsophisticated and ephemeral movement, and because many inside the Jesus movement have such an a-historical consciousness that they could never come to address the issues in this way. Prior to addressing the main issues of this chapter, then, we deal with the issue of historical location in a brief preface.

Preface: Historical Location

To speak of a theology is nearly always to speak of a historical tradition. One can speak of various theological traditions within Roman Catholicism, relating to such historically identifiable sources as Augustine or Aquinas or Occam. There is a Lutheran tradition, a Calvinist tradition, an Anabaptist tradition, an Arminian tradition. In the United States the theological position of fundamentalism has been clustered around five basic fundamentals which were contested in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy early in the twentieth century. Those fundamentals were the virgin birth of Christ, the deity of Christ, a literal second coming of Christ, the reality of miracles, and a verbally inspired and inerrant Bible. Pentecostalism, affirming such fundamentals but emphasizing the baptism of the Holy Spirit, arose about 1900.

In the history of indigenous American sects and denominations there has often been a lack of historical consciousness. Alexander Campbell, in the middle of the nineteenth century, was one of many who called for a simple and naive return to Biblical, first-century Christianity, as if nineteen centuries of historical tradition had not occurred. He sought one all-embracing, Bible-based Christian Church, but founded instead yet another denomination, the Disciples of Christ, off of which eventually split the Churches of Christ, etc. Bryan Wilson and others have commented on the fact that no sect is ever interested in calling itself a sect. It sees itself simply as the repristination of the early church with a theology straight from the Bible, free of centuries of historical sidetracks. Such sects assiduously avoid their historical (and social) roots and would be incredulous and insulted at the assertion, for example, that they are heavily influenced by Wesley's Methodism or left-wing Anabaptism or some even more grating combination of ingredients. The members of American sects are simply and typically self-professed Bible-believers. If they use the word theology, they would mean by it the self-evident outcome of their Bible study. (Well-established denominations like the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, and the Southern Baptists are no less assured of the self-evidence of their theology, however, just as Unitarians, for example, may find their theistic humanism too obvious for debate.)

If the historical-theological roots or location of much of American sectarian Protestantism remain mostly out of view of the true believers, the social location is even more remotely hidden from sight.

Even to imagine the function of class or relative deprivation in the origin and evolution of a new sect would require a whole new consciousness. This is not to suggest that theology would thereby be impugned. But the sectarian true believer might consider it a destruction of theology if it were suggested that his sect did not spring full-grown from first-century Biblical Christianity.

One must bear all this in mind when one comes to talk about the theology of the Jesus movement. There is the enormous influence of American fundamentalism, the preeminent emphasis on "heart change" out of Methodism, heavy measures of Pentecostalism in certain parts of the movement, and, especially in such a group as Christian World Liberation Front, the rationalist apologetic of a conservative Calvinism hand-in-comfortable-hand with an Anabaptist social ethic. None of this should be surprising as long as one remembers that crucial origins of the Jesus movement lie in the early approaches toward a hippie youth culture by a few fundamentalist-evangelical-Pentecostal pastors and laity. In that matrix the Jesus movement began to grow. There was a back-and-forth movement, with a certain kind of Protestant with new nerve and old evangelicalism coming to the youth culture as a new mission field and a youth culture going with some hesitation, some nerviness, and some last chance hope to that same kind of Protestant who seemed to have Answers.[1] One may note emphatically that the Jesus movement, and hence later its theology as well, did not owe its origins in any primary way to the coffee houses and drop-in drug-rap centers of liberal Protestantism nor to the social action ministries of mainline campus ministries.

Within CWLF it is true both that there is little consciousness of historical-theological traditions and that no one of these (unacknowledged) traditions prevails. There are people as heavily into dispensationalism[2] as its seedbed in this country, Dallas Seminary; people whose ecclesiology is heavily influenced by Anabaptism in general and the Plymouth Brethren in particular; orthodox Presbyterians; and a great range of people on a continuum from austere fundamentalism to loose evangelicalism. Within this latter grouping are not a few who have had no significant contact with any of the American sects or denominations and are not interested in seeking any. One may assume that the theology with which they have been operating is a theology they have found in a literal reading of the Bible within a distinctly conservative Protestant context. While such people may vigorously disclaim any denominational or sectarian ties or debts, one may easily chart their relative position in American conservative Protestantism by their positions on many common indicators. Such indicators would be anti-intellectualism, anti-ritualism, anti-clericalism, verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, active and essential prayer life, the necessity for a free decision of the heart for Christ, concern about prophecy and the imminent return of Christ, Pentecostalism, denial of the significance of culture and world. Within CWLF, for example, there would be little or no Pentecostalism, only a slight anti-intellectualism, a generally affirmative attitude toward a Christian witness in the culture. Most of the other indicators, however, would apply.

I have not attempted to trace out every historical root to the flowers that have grown in the Jesus movement. My chief concern is with the flowers, but such flowers will be unimaginable apart from certain roots. There will be those who insist the soil looks familiar, too—indeed, that such flowers only grow in a certain soil which they already will know how to describe. These latter are those who write the sociology of movements and sects, who describe the circumstances under which sects flower.

With all the above disclaimers in mind and aware of the impossibility of imposing general theological positions on a diverse group, we nevertheless posit that there is a good deal of common theology operant within CWLF and that a certain cluster of perspectives, almost a certain atmosphere, can be said to signify a group far more agreed than disagreed. We now turn to that theology.

Who Is Jesus: Symbol

We begin with the eternal quest for "Jesus himself." After looking at how some past answers have been symbolized, we see the reemergence of the question in the youth culture of the 1960s. In CWLF several symbolizations of Jesus came to stand out: Jesus the Alternative, Jesus the Experience, Jesus—Homecoming, Jesus—One of Us, Jesus—Coming Soon. Implicit in the descriptions are the questions of origin, function, and evolution. How did such a symbolization come to be chosen? What does it do for the group in terms of what they are affirming or denying? Where does the group go with it or where does it take the group (the question of the dialectic between transcendent symbol and religious group)?

The Quest for Jesus Himself

From the days of the New Testament people have pressed for an answer to the question, What do you think of Christ? The second issue of Right On supplied a full page eye-catching answer. Beneath a picture of Jesus was a text which in slightly different form had appeared before in American history and which now again has traveled around the world:

> Jesus. Alias: the Messiah, Son of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Prince of Peace, etc.
> Notorious Leader of a World-wide Liberation Movement.
> Wanted for the following charges:
> Practicing medicine and distributing food without a license.
> Interfering with businessmen in the Temple.
> Associating with known criminals, radicals, subversives, prostitutes, and street people.
> Claiming to have the authority to make people God's children.
> Appearance: Unknown. Rumored to have no regard for conventional dress standards.
> Hangs around slum areas, few rich friends, often sneaks out into the desert.
> Has a group of devoted followers, formerly known as Apostles, now called freemen (from his saying: You will know the truth and the Truth shall set you free).
> Beware - This man is extremely dangerous. His insidiously inflammatory message is particularly effective with young people who haven't been taught to ignore him yet. He changes men and sets them free.
> WARNING; HE IS STILL AT LARGE!

At the same time one of America's famed radio preachers was assuring his audience that Jesus was not the first hippie, did not plot to overthrow the government, and did not reject the Establishment. The avid listeners of "The World Tomorrow" met Garner Ted Armstrong's Jesus:

> One, the truth is that Christ was shorthaired like any common Jew of his day; two, He was a homeowner, and perhaps owned two homes; three, if He wore sloppy clothes, do you think those Roman soldiers would gamble for His garments—the fact is He wore a fairly expensive garment, which we understand was seamless and hand woven; four, He was a taxpayer, which the Bible proves.[3]

Jesus seems to vary with his audience. Yet many Christian believers are sure they know in their hearts the Jesus who stands behind the variation. Every age, it seems, tries to get back to that Jesus, to Jesus Himself. Albert Schweitzer has chronicled the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century quest for the historical Jesus in his classic book of that title. He describes how each epoch found its reflection in Jesus, how each individual created Him in accordance with his own character. Schweitzer passionately lamented the efforts to strip Jesus the imperious eschatological figure (Schweitzer's Jesus!) down to size:

> . . . notice what they have made of the great imperious sayings of the Lord, how they have weakened down His imperative world-contemning demands upon individuals, that He might not come into conflict with our ethical ideals, and might tune His denial of the world to our acceptance of it. Many of the greatest sayings are found lying in a corner like explosive shells from which the charges have been removed. No small portion of elemental religious power needed to be drawn off from His sayings to prevent them from conflicting with our system of religious world-acceptance.[4]

Somehow Jesus persists. The last paragraph of Schweitzer's book has become, in its mysticism, beauty, and restrained affirmation, one of his most famous statements:

> He comes to us as One unknown, without a name, as of old, by the lakeside, He came to those men who knew Him not. He speaks to us the same word: "Follow thou me!" and sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfill for our time. He commands. And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience Who He is.[5]

Although Schweitzer's work had seemed to prove a contemporary location for every "historical Jesus" that men uncovered, a "new quest for the historical Jesus" began in Germany in the 1950s. Interest in Jesus Himself could not be suppressed. Jesus also survived the Death of God movement of the middle sixties. One wag suggested the new theology's slogan: God is dead, long live Jesus. At that time Bishop Pike was popularizing the meaning of Christianity as being a "man for others" like Jesus.

Perhaps inevitably, hippies on the West Coast rediscovered Jesus as a funky character to groove on. It was obvious to them, as it had been to David Friedrich Strauss when he wrote his epochal Life of Jesus in 1835, that the accretions of church history and doctrine would have to be stripped away. As soon as they were, people committed to experiencing everything began experiencing Jesus too. The mystery of his person, as Schweitzer had written, was always at hand in the culture beckoning anyone interested to thoughtful meditation. Jesus was becoming fascinating again, also in the counterculture.

By the late sixties Jesus was "in." Christian publications and religious hucksters, the latter before the former, soon caught on. There appeared Jesus posters, sweatshirts, bumper stickers, watches, jockey shorts, and bikinis. There was "gold at the top of Jacob's ladder." Eventually there were Surfers for Jesus, Bikers for Jesus, Karate for Jesus, and Ham Radio for Jesus. A German periodical Bibel und Kirche (Bible and Church) changed its spring issue from "The Picture of the Church in the New Testament" to the theme "Jesus 1972" when it discovered the question of Jesus "burning at its fingertips."[6] Soon nearly everyone was rushing to pay attention. If all this was not the collective effervescence that Durkheim wrote of—although the Jesus movement was not without that, especially in its early years—there was a kind of media effervescence which drew wave after wave of questing young, the Jesus-boppers, and made it a status symbol to be the first on your block to get Jesus.

The Time cover story on the Jesus movement had noted in a section "Many Things to Many Men" that 60,000 books in the past century had sought to explain Christ.[7] New views of Jesus were now emerging, replacing those the editors of Christian Century found in recent decades: "the Bruce Bartonian Rotarian, the East Harlem Protestant social worker, the anguished German Lutheran existentialist preoccupied with hermeneutics, the dagger-bearing zealot fomenting revolution."[8] The quest for Jesus Himself was shouted and sung in the rock opera "Jesus Christ Superstar":

> Jesus Christ Jesus Christ
> Who are You? What have you sacrificed?
> Jesus Christ Superstar
> Do you think you're what they say you are?

The emergence of the figure of Jesus, then, became a central fact in one kind of religious experience in the late 1960s. It was a fact so clear that the movement which grew up around that experience was quickly dubbed the Jesus Movement. The people who came to Berkeley as missionaries and founded CWLF were ready to take that interest in Jesus and redirect it to the Jesus whom they believed in. In those early days it was the Jesus of the Four Spiritual Laws which Campus Crusade for Christ popularized, but loosened up considerably in a free translation to the streets. On the inside pages of Right On, however, that Jesus began to take on all the features of evangelical theology.

When a Lutheran Seminary student wrote CWLF's paper for an answer in their own words to the question "Who was Christ and what did he do?" the editors replied:

> Jesus Christ was the Son of God[1] who has been part of the God head[2] throughout all eternity, creating and sustaining the universe.[3] He became man[4] in order to redeem mankind through His death.[5] He had to be the God-man because only man can die and only God is perfect.[6] He was born the son of a woman,[7] was crucified,[8] buried, rose again,[9] appeared to many witnesses after his resurrection,[10] and ascended[11] again to the right hand of the Father where he sits as the mediator between God and man.[12]
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> [1] Matt. 11:27.
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> [2] John 10:30.
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> [3] John 1:3.
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> [4] John 1:14.
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> [5] Heb. 2:9.
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> [6] Rom. 3:23.
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> [7] Matt. 1:18.
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> [8] Matt. 27, Mark 15, Luke 23, John 19.
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> [9] Matt. 28, Mark 16, Luke 24, John 20.
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> [10] Matt. 23:16-30; Mark 16:15-16; Acts 1:1-8.
>
> [11] Mark 16:19; Acts 1:9-12.
>
> [12] Gal. 3:19.

An article, "What Child Is This?" in that same December 1971 issue began: "Jesus Christ was a cold ascetic to D. H. Lawrence, a clown to Harvey Cox, a super-avatar to Alan Watts: Who was He really?" A large graphic at the bottom of the page showed Watts, Cox, and Lawrence arriving at Bethlehem as three wisemen. As they are respectively proclaiming him supersage, clown, and killjoy, Baby Jesus is saying, "It's three wiseacres from the West." The article concludes:

> Who do you say that I am? Why do so many men continue to spend their lives contriving Christ's life into something it wasn't? It's because, if the life of Christ as stated in the Bible is true, it is explosive, the implications are phenomenal, deeply personal and demanding. If it is true and you accept Christ as your Savior you will have to die to your old self and become a new creature. This is frightening, and yet those who have made this choice can really say, "His yoke is easy; His burden is light."
>
> Undertaking an honest investigation of the claims of Christ may not be easy. . . . In fact it may be well to pray that if there is a God He will help you in an honest search. But be prepared for results.
>
> Men will continue distorting the life of Christ but in the meantime Christ's insistent question comes to you, "Who do you say that I am?"

Against the cultural and historical relativism so decried in an evangelical apologetic, CWLF was trying to locate their Jesus squarely in the New Testament, suggesting that other pictures were time-serving or self-serving departures from the Bible.

It cannot be surprising that also among the brothers and sisters in CWLF myth and man, doctrine and social location, confession and experience, all came together.

Jesus the Alternative

"You've tried revolution, drugs, sex, Krishna, now try Jesus." Susan saw Jesus as a love alternative to hate-tripping. For a woman heroin dealer in her thirties, Jesus was an alternative to pushing, living out of wedlock, and occasionally losing her two small children. For a macho, agnostic brother named Pedro, Jesus meant the end of pointless wanderings and the beginning, a year later, of a brief missionary visit to Spain. David and Sharon came to see a Jesus who was an alternative to straight and unimaginative churches and the beginning of authentic Christian journalism.

The new Jesus arrived as a relief from the goody-goody of Sunday School, from the emotional flatness of "head-tripping" theology, or from the dreariness of the churches. He was an alternative to destructive families, desperate spiritual voyages, or going to a middle-class church. For some evangelicals he was an alternative status system for those on their way up, outside the system.

There were several sources for the emergence of the symbolization of Jesus as the Alternative. Many American young people living unsatisfying lives at home or school or in active disagreement with the American society and government were looking for a better way. The development of alternatives had become a focus of action among many small groups and individuals—the visionary society of Paul Goodman, free schools, communes, food conspiracies. Marx had already become a certain alternative for many who were able to reduce the complexity of life by means of an economic analysis. The human potential movement had now risen, partly from within the failure of political action, to answer Perls or Maslow to the quest for a new way. Encounter groups, humanistic psychology, Esalen, body awareness, and primal screams, to name a few, were emerging alternatives to the American cultural morass appearing at about the same time as the Jesus movement. In evangelical circles there had become prominent in the last decades a kind of utilitarian evangelism which touted the Biblical Jesus as being far more effective than whatever you were now using. Already in the early church Jesus was often

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described as the radical Alternative—the difference between light and darkness.

How did Jesus the Alternative function? He was a promising replacement for a life that wasn't working, personally or politically. In some cases he was preached as a judgment and/or lure to political radicals. (It is interesting to note that when several all-American types moved on to new ministries outside CWLF and when more people with politically radical pasts came into the Family, Jesus the Alternative became somewhat more of a Completer: grace perfecting nature, as it were, rather than in radical discontinuity.) Often he seemed to legitimate certain new directions people who were already Christians wanted to travel.

CWLF especially attracted people for whom Jesus functioned in the latter way. For them Jesus symbolized an alternative kind of ministry and an alternative way of being a Christian. They were people solid in their Christian faith but perplexed about their Christian identity. The non-middle-class Jesus emerging in the Jesus movement looked like considerably better news than the carefully controlled gospel they had heard all their lives. Here was an alternative they were hungry for—authenticity in commitment and life-style. To Jack, a new seminary graduate, it looked like a new frontier to do real theological work. To Frank it was a chance to use his creative gifts in an accepting atmosphere unencumbered by all the rules of an evangelical youth organization. To David it was a chance to write, create, and lead in ways his Brethren church would not tolerate. To Elizabeth it was a chance to let living in Berkeley be the test of her Christianity.

The symbolization of Jesus the Alternative proved to be rich with possibility, and eventually such a symbol was capable of taking members of the group in a variety of directions. At first there came about that primary symbol of the Jesus movement: "One Way." Jesus was seen as the ultimate alternative to merely human solutions to problems whose origin was seen to be the separation of people from their heavenly Father. Such a way calls into question Eastern religion, Jewish religion, and no religion. It assaults humanism, atheism, and liberal Christianity. Its proof text is John 14:6. "I am the way the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father but by me."

That early certainty was carried in several directions, however. Some sighed with utter relief and experienced immediate closure once they found the way. Social and psychological complexities were disacknowledged. The devil is the answer to the problem of evil. Social critique and social understanding are unnecessary. The appeal of such a Jesus is to the lonely, the insecure, the self-doubting. The needful, adolescent response to the good news of salvation was elevated and solidified as a total and complete faith. The first rush of salvation prematurely creates a Jesus who is a totem of absolute, unwavering certainty. This Jesus seems more to function as a rejection of the past than as an affirmation of the future.

For others, "One Way" is an affirmation of a new future in Jesus, but of the simplest kind. The new believer takes the role of wide-eyed Truth perceiver, receiver, and sharer. "If you're saved and you know it clap your hands." The motto seemed to be: First and Last Jesus. If the Apostle Paul had said, "I am determined to know nothing but Christ the Crucified," these joyful believers seemed to be saying, "I am determined to know nothing."

But most in CWLF came to say, "First Jesus and then—whatever." The work on the world and on themselves continues out of the context and motivation of their new evangelical faith. Bryan began to discover the Lord "handing me my problems back to deal with them." Susan went back to radical politics. Joyce, once a schoolmarmish evangelical, became involved in prison ministry and reform. Carolyn, a gentle Southern belle exuding Jesus songs when she first came to CWLF, became involved with gay women and feminist political action. She may leave CWLF to devote herself wholly to such a ministry. A famous slogan in the Jesus movement goes: "After Jesus everything else is just toothpaste." These people might say, "Before Jesus everything was just toothpaste." Some of them are now capable of an excitement about life and a vigorous engagement of reality which sees all creation waking up for the first time to rebirth. Theirs is not a defensive alternative but a free and affirming one.

The toothpaste slogan is scarcely ever mentioned today in CWLF, though occasionally it may be blurted out as a fond recollection of an earlier naiveté the group may be in danger of losing. How to account for this change? Possibly, a potentially rich symbol of Jesus pulled the group toward greater theological maturity (read: inclusiveness). Perhaps their own emerging shape as a group with considerable maturity and sophistication led to a more refined symbolization beyond simple slogans. The background of higher education characteristic of so many attracted to CWLF is significant also for a rejection of a Jesus narrowly sectarian or legalistic. Nor can the shape of the Berkeley situation within which and to which CWLF is not only committed to minister but to which it is greatly attracted be minimized. People who tune a message to their hearers may begin to hear the message differently themselves. The words that St. Luke reports the Apostle Paul saying to the men of Athens sound similarly tuned to the situation of the preacher's hearers.

Nevertheless, the evolution of this symbolization from a narrow "one way" to an inclusive Christology is sometimes detoured. One of these detours is the apparent decision by many to "stop the world" at the location of the "hour I first believed." That is, Jesus the Alternative comes to absolutize a countercultural life-style, with its celebration of spontaneity and cultivation of improvisation as a permanent way of living. When a small group of CWLF leaders returned in 1973 from a three-week tour sharing with Christians around the country what God was doing in Berkeley, one could hear a near smugness in the joy with which they returned to the true authenticity of Berkeley. Their mission seemed to have been a greening of the churches, which, in part, meant: Become more like us. The suspicion that the counterculture might have become the real alternative (not Jesus) led Frank and his wife to return to the South, where they wanted to raise a family in the kinds of traditions they still loved and where they saw a possibility for using their talents within the straight church.

The symbolization of Jesus the Alternative has been opened up widely by only a few. They are talking and writing of an authentic "third way" for dealing with reality, the world, and the self. It is the beginning of a Christian philosophy, and a strong doctrinal apologetic has followed as well, often steered in the direction of a rational Calvinism represented by such an evangelical guru as Francis Schaefer. His ministry in L'Abri, Switzerland, has had profound influence on the many young evangelicals who make their pilgrimage there or who read his books. Sharon has taken Right On from the immediate reality of CWLF in her attempt to make it a newspaper of such a "third Way." David left CWLF to become a teacher in a Bible college and dreams of founding a journal which will represent such a way to would-be radical Christians. The "One Way" these voice is open and engaging, though even that will by definition never receive a sympathetic hearing from those who theologically are universalists or historically and philosophically are relativists. It is the "One Way" of people who have been around and who have felt themselves pulled by Jesus the Alternative to a fresh, satisfying answer, one they will argue with vigor.

Jesus the Experience

Billy Graham has called the demand for an experience with Jesus Christ a primary characteristic of the Jesus movement. A Christian Century editorial called the movement's Jesus "a fresh green growth in a sere landscape, a lift from the boredom in a bland conservative-and-liberal church, a voice of authority and a beckoning hint of love in a world where the young seek simplicity and innocence."[9] The Christian evangelists who came together with the movement of the young that would become the Jesus movement were devotees of "heart religion." The direct experience of Jesus in one's heart and life is an irreducible element in fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity.

"God, I'm offering you my life, such as it is. If you want it, if you are out there, show yourself to me. Let me feel you moving in my life now." Such a prayer has been learned and prayed by many a brother and sister who has come into CWLF. That one could feel one's heart warmed by the "God who is there," that one could sense that the Person on the other end of the line has not hung up, that one could experience a personal relationship with the Father—all this comes with breathtaking power to those who discover it coming true for themselves.

The sources for the call to experience are not mysterious. In recent centuries the revolt against orthodox formalism by German Pietism and later by the movement in Scandinavia, the Wesleyan revivals, and, much more recently, American frontier evangelism—all have become sedimented into a basic core of the evangelical experience and belief system. Most recently, the countercultures' revolt against the academic establishment has been led, in part, by the call for experience. Professors without "experience credentials" were belittled.[10] In the drug culture, in experimental life-styles, in the evolution and development of alternative institutions, and in their interpersonal relationships, the young sought and insisted on experience. The vacuity of so much ~~liberal~~ Protestant piety could not possibly have made a connection with such a mentality, but the warm religiosity of many of the evangelical missionaries was instantly understood by many of the young.

The experience of Jesus means many things. For some it is a conversion. For some it is a startling disconfirmation of all their previous experiences with the churches. For some who have adopted a countercultural worldview and for those whose desperation has emptied them emotionally, the experience of Jesus may offer authenticity and trustworthiness. "You begin by talking to him, asking if He will come into your life." The potential member of the Forever Family is taught to expect the experience, particularly the experience of God being your friend, of you being important to Him, of your coming into His plan and design, of starting anew with someone you can depend on.

For many in the Jesus movement Jesus the Experience is the preeminent reality in their new life and faith. The most important thing about Jesus is that you experience him. That Jesus is someone you can relate to, feel in your heart, talk to, is more significant than anything else.

Within CWLF this experience of Jesus is a sine qua non, a fact of religious life that warms and unites the whole group. The kind of ecstatic cheekiness and wide-eyed wonder at what the Lord is doing that one can observe at many Family Meetings may signal Jesus the Experience being worshipped and praised and passed around the community. The blissful smiles belong to those who may be returning again to their own conversion experience or are staying high on the testimony of others. The emotional highs, the rapturous joy, the ecstatic assurance does not, in CWLF, move to that unique experience—bodily healing. No one in the community has been taught to expect that kind of experience, though anyone can discover it at Resurrection City's Night of Miracles, just down the street. Jesus the Experience will take shape, then, as the group shapes itself for communal worship, for individual witness to those still searching, and for times of doubt, uncertainty, and lack of direction.

It is no small task to keep this Jesus alive in the group as the community becomes more and more involved in nonevangelistic ministries and finds itself further from the streets than in the early years. Already by 1973 one could hear complaints that the old excitement and spontaneity and life and enthusiastic sharing everyone could remember from previous Family celebrations are most often lacking now. Jesus the Experience is always the baseline to which one returns, the wellspring to which one goes back for nourishment, the common denominator that binds the group together. But all but a few in the community need more.

This Jesus can only be the beginning of CWLF ministries. The move into a newspaper, into street theater, into engagement with competing religions, into political involvement requires more than Jesus the Experience, though He always is present at the heart of it all. When a new ministry is being launched, when Transcendental Meditation is being exposed as a false religion, when the community is struggling with the women's question, when CWLF is trying to find an identity as church—other symbolizations are required.

Because the recovery of experience occurred in an evangelical context, the recovery of wonder, mystery, and symbol that can be observed at various other places in American culture has not happened among Jesus

People. CWLF baptisms in Ludwig's Fountain on the Berkeley campus may be fearless testimonies in a sea of unbelief or an occasion for euphoria as the Family delights in its own self-conscious joy and naiveté. But no rich sacramental or liturgical components are present. Bloodless celebrations of the Lord's Supper are everywhere typical. There is a wonder, however, that "such as we" should be joined together by God in such a Forever Family. It is a wonder amidst the little circle of believers shared with German pietism and the Wesleyan meetings. Perhaps such a wonder underlies the liturgical imagery of bread, one loaf, the fruit of the vine which are so prominent in the early Church.

With the exception of music, few if any of the arts play a role in the recovery of experience. Certainly the richly embroidered chasubles of Roman Catholic or Episcopal priests would be an insurmountable difficulty for a movement distinctly anticlerical. But there are also no banners, no wall hangings or richly crafted crosses and crucifixes. Yet much of the Jesus movement has an ad hoc quality about it, and we should expect new art, if any. There has indeed flourished the crafts recovered by the counterculture: richly figured leather covers for one's Bible or painstakingly embroidered pictures of Jesus on jackets and shirts. There is also the revolutionary (puritan) art of underground newspapers, pamphlets distributed at rallies, and posters adorning telephone poles. Art is functional and, therefore, secondary.

An increasing few in CWLF are trying to move well beyond a Jesus of a too-narrowed experience. Though the shape of a more inclusive Christology has yet to appear, the first Jesus of prematurely closed experience is no longer a primary locating reference. They are likely to feel more in tune with some others they see around them—who may have art but not heart. We may expect that as these few broaden, Jesus the Experience will broaden.

Jesus—Homecoming[11]

A testimony in Right On closes with the words "Come Home!" Not a few of the brothers and sisters in the Forever Family see themselves as prodigal children who have returned to the Father's house. Homecoming is a powerful image. George McGovern in 1972 wanted to utilize its evocative power in his campaign slogan, Come Home America. The old revival song beckons: "Softly and tenderly Jesus is calling, calling to sinners, 'Come Home.'"[12]

What is this homecoming? After long and tortuous wanderings, after crushed hopes and burnt-out lives, suddenly there is the discovery of peace, comfort, healing, security, rest, salvation. One eases tiredly down on the bed, takes off the heavy shoes with the dust of the road, a brother runs for a cold glass of water, you sleep soundly, and the Family table is set when you awake. You can go home again! There you find purpose, you love, you are happy. If you are ready, there is even the strength to go back and love your parents. All this the evangelist presents, with Jesus as its symbol. Many a brother or sister has experienced exactly this when they are led up to CWLF's Dwight House, three blocks and a million miles from Telegraph Avenue.

This Jesus is more down-home than skybound. He is the one who told the parable of the Prodigal Son, who sits and eats with outcasts and sinners, who associates with foreigners, women, children, and religious amateurs. He is the "What a Friend" Jesus, perhaps the Jesus longed for in mystical devotions, the whispered "thank you Jesus" and fervent "yes Lord" of so many Jesus prayers, the Companion of old campfires and present oceanside rapture.

Whence the image of homecoming? It is in the unconscious of humankind, in old revival hymns, in countless testimonies. Sometimes it is a regressive if not escapist longing for fusion. Sometimes it may symbolize a return to values and ideals long since rejected but now reaffirmed as a way out of present dilemmas. It is the hope that beginnings may rejuvenate us as we struggle toward ends.

The new home may be a total rejection of the immediate past. If one has been gone too long, if the voyage was too terrifying, one may never leave home again. Now life will be always "just family," an endless time of table talk among the brothers and sisters, and in the Father's care and protection.

For others, homecoming is an affirmation of a new identity, a new place one is trying to discover. When Mike came to CWLF he had been moving from congregation to congregation trying to make it as a minister. Here he hoped to find acceptance, respect, and appreciation. Barry was a failure in life, but could not face himself. He dreamed of single-handedly inaugurating a new ministry to people with drug problems, a ministry that would be a new life for himself as well. Joyce didn't like herself and didn't live well with other people. All her years in "Christian service" had not been satisfying. For an unappreciated schoolmarm with low self-esteem, home was a place where you could be loved, satisfied, and made new. For some perpetual party-crashers, for those whose only food comes from potlucks to which they contribute nothing, home is where they have to take you in and try to love you.

After an initial period of closure, most in CWLF find this home evolving into a base of operations, a safe house from which you sally forth into the world, a place of meaning and rearmament from which you go to engage the culture, a source of identity. "Now that I know who I am I can do what needs to be done." When one brother found the time and space to be who he was, he began using his time in Street Theater. When another came home and stayed awhile, he ventured out as filmmaker, all-purpose handyman, political radical, and general hard worker. David and Sharon developed an understanding of themselves in terms of radical Christianity and launched effective lives editing and teaching.

Depending on when you arrived in CWLF's history or the shape of your needs, home was where you were comforted or challenged. Sometimes CWLF was a little flock in a chaotic city. If you left home briefly, it was only to pull home a few others still left in the streets. Sometimes CWLF was a center for creative ministries. Home was where you came back to at night, where you did the necessary homework in preparation for your real work in the world. For some in CWLF, especially those most sure of their Christian identity, home was not a primary locating reference at all. You visited home while in the service of your ministry, responding to the call of a somewhat different Jesus—to teach, to lead prayer, to put out a newspaper, to provide some art work, to supervise a Christian House.

Jesus—One of Us

Not long after Jack Sparks began what was to become CWLF, one of his supporters warned him that he was "losing touch with the good people of America." When Jerry, a Haight-Ashbury resident, came across the Bay Bridge to see what was happening in Berkeley a year after CWLF had begun, he became so excited that he begged Jack to take him into his home and family. "Here God showed me a group of hip Christians. Here was a little group in Berkeley—excited, overflowing, full of joy and love. It was thrilling, people of my own type, longhairs, so exciting to see that God is not abandoning the hip world. I had such a burden for the hip scene."[13]

Many of the early observers of the Jesus movement labeled it "hippies with religion." The new Jesus was revolutionary, mellow, and anti-Establishment. He practiced wine making and food distribution without a license and encouraged communal living. He was rejected by the religious professionals, a deviant discovered and embraced by deviants.

The Jesus who is one of us resonates with every attempt to feel worthwhile, to justify one's deviant path, to celebrate what others reject, and somehow, at the same time, to pay whatever debts to majority goodness and truth which are still nagging. There are also those whose sins or pasts seem too gross and for whom such a message comes as unimaginably good news. To discover this Jesus may be deliverance and salvation, theological legitimation and approval.

This Jesus functions, according to the needs of the group, as one of us versus the Establishment or as the true church versus the churches. Outside evangelical control such a Jesus could also be a Weatherman, black, bisexual, Zen, honest to God, secular, a clown, a devotee of the Old Gnosis against the scientific establishment.

Within CWLF, especially in the early years, it was enough to know he was not middle class. He was freshly stolen back from the churches, where he had been kept for years. To celebrate this Jesus was, sometimes, to celebrate oneself. He takes us as his own. We take him as our own. He is a song of ourselves. If he was good news for some desperately wishing God could understand and love them, for others he was a trophy captured by the counterculture in the contest over which was the real sacred canopy, a rival altar set up in the face of the religious establishment.

For many, he was only good news, without manipulation. The one who made people OK by being with them, who gave them a name and a significance when they came as his younger brothers and sisters into the Father's Family. As the group became more sure of itself, as the community's boundaries became certain, as the Family began to hear more of the proclamation and respond to a larger Jesus, they began to concentrate more, if one may alter Abraham Lincoln's charge, on being one of Christ's than on His being one of them.

The transition toward being one of Christ's happened as the community began to focus on Jesus as Lord. This shift in focus occurred both because at least some Jesus People were beginning to hear more from their Bible study than at first and because leaders were beginning to urge individuals toward more group and social responsibility. The shift from the simple saying Jesus who is one of us to a larger Biblical Lord is documented in the wider Jesus movement with the appearance in 1971 of David Wilkerson's Jesus Person Maturity Manual.[14] In it he called Jesus People to grow up and really change their lives—partly, of course, in the direction of Wilkerson's Jesus, the one he presents to drug addicts who come into his "Teen Challenge."

In CWLF the elders began in 1970-71 to insist on deeper Bible study and to make it clear in sermons, heart-to-heart talks, leaflets, etc. that Jesus was more than a trip, more than a bumper sticker, more than a groovy friend. Calling Jesus Lord rather than One of Us also helped the elders control those who heard different drummers or who, in the elders' view, irresponsibly threatened the life of the Family.

Jesus—Coming Soon

For a few in CWLF the bumper sticker "He ain't comin' back as a carpenter" suggests an apocalyptic hero who can provide comfort, assurance, and vindication. Apocalyptic literature is a genre devoted to the mysterious allusions to and signs of the events which will occur in the last days of world history. Or the frenzied and often impatient expectations that God will act soon to deliver his people from their circumstances. In CWLF Jesus is not predominantly symbolized as an apocalyptic hero, though a Jesus who is coming back (soon) is never out of sight. There is a significant difference between the expectations of a literal eschatology and the intense hope and demand for an immediate return of

God who will end the present age. True to its evangelical theology, CWLF preaches and expects an actual return of Christ at the end of the age.

The expectation of Jesus' imminent return in power is always strongest among those groups which are most world-rejecting. For them their new community is an emergency ark to get them through the raging waters engulfing a condemned world. Apocalyptic literature and preacher have always arisen in times of distress and hopelessness. The apocalyptist calls down not only judgment on an evil world, but God himself. The lively hope of an imminent return provides the comfort and strength to get through the present.

When CWLF preaches an actual return of Christ, it is to an age turned to nothingness, to a generation in the morass of relativism, to a Christianity which has largely given up literal eschatology. Thus CWLF reasserts a Biblical view, identifies with the early church, and in effect asserts itself. The self-consciously radical Christian life-style, the turn-away from much that is the world, the isolated position over against much of the Christian Church, the seeming cultural irrelevance, make sense to people who see themselves as pilgrims. The pilgrim peers harder toward the other side and thus sees more. Those whose eyes are fixed on "the things of this world" are not likely to glimpse anything or anybody on the other side. At most, if they are Christian, they may see a Christ who is immanent in loving, liberating, humanizing events or in self-actualization—all liberal code words for the essence of religion.

That Jesus is coming back soon is both the legitimation and the motivation for the stance of the Forever Family. Such a Jesus can be a great comfort when the brothers and sisters are experiencing despair or the failure of the movement, or when, in other ways, they find themselves not making it.

A Jesus who is coming back soon lifts one's movement above the vagaries of history—and above similar, rival movements—and guarantees that one's present homely shape will ultimately be made to triumph by God himself. It is good to know that what is happening in one's life and in the Family is the direct plan of God, who will soon bring his plans to a glorious close. The Jesus movement is the advance work of the Jesus who is on his way back, as the Scriptures foretell.

A Jesus who comes back in power can also become the anger writ large of a passive-aggressive personality who rages at the world and his inability to change it. "You'll see." "Wait until my Father gets back!" Barry, struggling with his ineffectiveness, dreams of the day when Jesus will come back and he will be somebody. Mike is unappreciated by the world, his gifts go unrewarded even in the CWLF community, and he is mixed up in profound ambivalence toward the sins he decries—when Jesus comes back people will see who the fool was and who the wise man was.

For only a few in CWLF, but for many more in the Jesus movement generally, the rapturous assurance that Jesus is coming soon is a substitute for the future. The only future is the return of Jesus. "It won't make a bit of difference if Jesus is coming back tomorrow, will it?"

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If Jesus is a substitute for the future he can also be a deliverer from the present. Sometimes it is a deliverance one calmly waits for; sometimes a deliverance preached with frenzy. The excitement of apocalyptic certainty may be not unlike that of some radicals who thought a new American was aborning in Chicago in 1968, and that they were the midwives.

> As radicals saw matters, America in June was shuddering at the epicenter of the imperialist world. America's trouble excited them. It whipped their resolve and tickled their imagination with the persistent fantasy of revolution. When the radicals went to Chicago, they really thought that they might soon be contesting for control of the United States government.[15]

That excitement alternated with despair, "a despair that suggested we were the first generation that could imagine declining its bid to inherit the earth."[16]

The alternative to that kind of revolution is that ultimate emigration, apocalyptic. Such an emigration was already practiced in the drug culture by those who dropped out of the prevailing definitions of reality and quietly or boisterously rejoiced in the truth of their own deviance. To some Jesus People it looked as if the revolution of the radicals had failed and the Lord himself was on the way.

In some ways the religion of prophecy and apocalyptic and Jesus coming back soon seem to function in place of that nearly established religion of the counterculture, astrology. Like astrology, prophecy offers a plan and makes sense of events dreadful or meaningless. History is miraculously held together in God's will. One need only labor over the grammatical entrails of recorded prophecies to divine their true meaning and how they are about to come true. Prophecy becomes

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evangelical magic. Such a view, represented by Hal Lindsey's phenomenal best-seller, The Late Great Planet Earth, has few fans in CWLF. Occasionally apostles of such views come as visiting evangelists to the Family Meetings, waving newspaper clippings and proclaiming what the Lord is up to. Many listen patiently and disregard, some fervently believe and rejoice, and others can't keep back their excitement at all the things God is making happen in these last times.

For many in CWLF, especially after the early years, the expectation of a literal second coming of Christ is a part of the Biblical message they are glad to proclaim and from which they draw comfort, hope, and assurance. But this Jesus is not the one, especially in his apocalyptic dress, whose picture adorns their consciousness. When the group is creatively engaging the world, this Jesus recedes—though a returning Christ is never absent from proclamation and piety. The Jesus who makes tomorrow irrelevant, however, tends to interfere with the printers' deadlines for Right On. In 1973 David began to say in small groups and in some of his Bible studies, "I doubt that a fixation on eschatology is what we are called to today." The Jesus who may open up God's largesse by the end of the month interferes with the personal responsibility the elders are trying to inculcate in the new babes in the Lord. (Of course, that need not be so. Some rural Jesus communes which think of little else than the imminent return of Jesus invest enormous amounts of energy and hard work getting ready for him, submitting to authoritarian structures which can hasten the preparations.) For those most sophisticated theologically, a literal return of Christ is an important part of the Christian apologetic and philosophy of life which they propose as an alternative to those which presently prevail, but the expectation of the return never becomes a substitute for apologetics or discipleship or attempts to live out a Christian life-style in ways which get the world's attention.

Other Symbols

For some in the earlier days of CWLF Jesus seemed to merge imperceptibly into the movement itself and all it came to symbolize for the new joiners. The medium was the message. In those days people streamed in following a star the media helped create, while flashy evangelists managed the crowds of wise men. Jesus was only an adjective. The movement was bigger and more exciting than Jesus. The label spread faster than the people. Germany's newspaper Die Welt once suggested the movement existed only in the papers. Many came for what looked big.

CWLF was never a movement inflated by flashy leaders. What did attract attention [illegible] the outrageous notion that God could be doing something in Berkeley. That Jesus was in Berkeley, that a movement was aborning there was message enough, as perhaps it once was message enough in New Testament times that Jesus was in Samaria.

CWLF could not but benefit from the advance men of the Jesus movement who carried eighty-pound crosses across the country and chained themselves to Sunset Strip, who found God amidst the drugs of Haight-Ashbury and the sailboats of Sausalito. The CWLF missionaries did not arrive without advance billing. But they also quickly learned their own kind of Berkeley movement lessons—how to manage events, how to make posters that were seen by many, how to use literature in a way that suggested a large and powerful group was at work, how to out-bullhorn SDS in Sproul Palza. When a reporter once wrote that the biggest threat to SDS was CWLF, even the brothers and sisters in the Forever Family gasped in disbelief. What had God wrought! What were they a part of?

Being part of a powerful movement is important if not essential for any true believer. The sense of a large Movement (always capitalized and referred to without adjective by leftists) had already been significant for recruiting young radicals. And evangelicals traced their entire history to revival movements and movements of the Spirit. The new believer wanted to believe he was not alone.

Probably this movement Jesus was both what the situation demanded and what at least some of the early participants in CWLF needed to get them to Jesus. People leaving behind a losing movement (hippies and drugs) found in Jesus a successful and powerful means of rejecting the past. In their new life he functioned to keep them thinking big, to hold discouragement and frustration at bay, to fire their enthusiasm. God looked to be doing something big in Berkeley; how fortunate they were to be his agents. When the day for movements passed in Berkeley, so did this Jesus. Perhaps CWLF just outgrew him. Yet even several years after those early times the news of what God is doing all over the country is often an exciting and faith-strengthening ingredient in Family worship, as brothers and sisters traveling through Berkeley come to share the news. Probably the early church, too, was excited to be a part of the movement of the Spirit described in the Book of Acts.

There is still another symbol of Jesus which only the dropouts, rejects, failures, and apostates relate to. Since they do not stay around to create images which represent them, it may be one task of the sociologist to label the direction "One Way" turned out to be for some in the Jesus movement. It is Jesus the Bummer, the shape of the movement hidden from sight, a form that has slouched off into invisibility. This is the Jesus of the back lot, dark and cold, when the tent folds and the carnival moves on. The Jesus tried and not liked. The rush of instant salvation was still one more world-breaking failure. The hip preacher jived about dropping "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John" but they were a bum trip, too. Especially for some in that motley crew first attracted off the streets into the Forever Family, Jesus was like a teenage marriage—you did it to get away from an unpleasant situation, but it soon turned out to be more than you could take. It ended in a quick divorce and left you with a spiritual hangover.

Why this failure? Jesus the Bummer simply didn't meet the needs of some, neither helping them deal with their pasts nor establish a future. Sometimes the early evangelists, especially the babes in the Lord themselves, promised too much. Jesus would make you a new person with no sweat. But it turned out he didn't keep you dry when you went without him for twenty-four hours. He was an instant withdrawal, but not a lasting one. The young disciples did not always practice truth in packaging. You came "drug-blown, pop-freaked, ego-defenseless," seeking sonship, and were turned back to slavery.

Sometimes Jesus turned out to be more than you wanted. The groovy guru but unwelcome Lord. When the call to discipleship came it looked like another authority rap. You weren't ready to settle down with this Jesus. The call to the road is still beckoning the easy rider with more trips to be taken. As the elders keep talking about your "Christian walk," the streets and the old crowd begin to look good again. James Nolan closed his article on the Jesus movement in Ramparts with a message to Jesus-boppers:

> If your apocalypse does not happen on schedule, and if and when you are lemming off in some new direction, realizing the torment and difficulty of true sainthood and that salvation is not just a shot of anything away, spare us one vision: a littered, trampled post-festival shambles with Jesus Christ, a blown-out superstar, back where he started, unplugging the amps and picking up the empty dixie punch cups and sweeping up the cookie crumbs scattered by the marauding packs of crowded, lonely people—no one was saved.[17]

Transcending Particular Symbolization

Paul Tillich has described a "Protestant Principle" which always and everywhere calls into question all religious thought, action, and institutions. It resembles the way much Christian theology speaks of the Kingdom of God, which can never be reduced to the Church. Many Jesus People come to confess a Jesus who cannot be reduced to their symbolizations. He is the Jesus to whom the New Testament witnesses, the one never successfully caught in his disciple's descriptions or realized in their life-style.

Such a Jesus, Christians believe, comes into vision as one grows up in the faith and feels the pull of the Spirit. Social psychologists may also suggest that Jesus gets "more" as his disciples mature or as their view of what they want out of life gets larger. That seems to accompany the fading of their initial sectarianism into a more Church-like or culture-affirming theological stance.

When brothers and sisters in CWLF come to see a Jesus larger than the one they first believed, they find their sights lifted, beyond CWLF, beyond Berkeley, beyond their current ministries, beyond their first conceptions. After three years in CWLF Susan said, "I've come to see the importance in some of the things the Church says." That was no small admission for her. Early in CWLF's history most of the Family discovered a lot more to talk about than Jesus coming back soon. Having discovered after two years that it was possible to be a Christian in Berkeley, Elizabeth moved away from CWLF and eventually got married. Bryan eventually returned to school and looked for a career in the church. David and Sharon often talked of the kinds of ministries which might take Right On away from CWLF—if CWLF did not enlarge its vision.

At the beginning of the Jesus movement many discovered that the New Testament proclamation was not hinged to the middle-class churches. Those who allowed themselves to grow or who felt called by a larger Jesus eventually concluded that Jesus is also not hinged to the Jesus movement, nor even to the countercultural style which seemed to epitomize radical Christianity for them. Most have yet to discover a Jesus who is more than a Calvinist apologetic or an Anabaptist radicalism.

Often this happens when the individual finds God rejoining him to the world. Once he devoted himself to looking at Jesus and nothing else. Now he asks, "What does God want me to do with my life?" Jesus becomes the center of a worldview and a life-style which becomes the more inclusive the more the person grows and the more contact the person allows himself. Jesus becomes a fundamental perspective or viewpoint on reality, but reality itself is more and more engaged. Very often this happens as the result of deep Bible study and diligent searching to see where God may be calling.

For some, Christ becomes larger precisely as they follow the Pauline injunction to "bring every thought into the obedience of Christ." Jesus needs a full Christology as the mature Christian attempts to engage all of culture and build a new worldview. While it is only a few in CWLF who attempt such a thing, these attempts carry them far afield (and influence others in the fellowship)—into film reviews, into dialogue with the American Humanist Association, into courses at the Graduate Theological Union (formerly seen as a monolithic liberal conspiracy), and certainly into continuing relationships with radicals, feminists, and gay liberationists. Occasionally some of the straighter members of CWLF, especially those who had come to guide the movement in the beginning, have found it necessary to leave when this "more" became more than they could tolerate, more than they could believe of the Jesus they believed in. Sometimes this Jesus becomes the legitimation for leaving CWLF or a particular kind of ministry.

Ever since Susan announced at a Christmas retreat her struggles with being gay, the Jesus in CWLF has moved well beyond the sexless theology of fundamentalism. Shortly before leaving CWLF to take a teaching position, David began writing that a larger Jesus coming into his view, at least, did not seem to be calling him to endless preoccupations with the second coming.

One may say that a more complex group, a family which is not homogeneous, is going to have a more complex Jesus. One may also say that the Jesus behind all symbolization will pull those who will come into richer confessions, more varied pursuits, less certainty and more inclusiveness. In other Jesus communities, certain symbols of Jesus, for example, the apocalyptic hero, are used steadily to repress the possibility of other images coming into prominence. That raises again the question of symbolization and the evolution of the group, of the varying powers of symbols, and of the rise and decline of symbols.

Conclusions

We have looked at the faces of Jesus in CWLF. Jesus has come, in the course of the group's history, to be symbolized as the Alternative, the Experience, Homecoming, One of Us, and Coming Soon. In addition, the movement itself became a primary symbol for some, and for others Jesus functioned as a bummer. Gradually, glimpses of a Jesus who transcended the group's symbolizations emerged. And always, symbols were in evolution, ascending or declining in the life of the group, varying in power, carrying and being carried in many directions.

Below is a sketch of the directions these symbolizations have moved in CWLF. Generally, an arrow to the right indicates growth, change, evolution toward greater complexity, and possibly a stronger future for the group. That direction also carries the possibility of termination in the religious establishment and/or uncreative and uncharismatic institutionalization. An arrow to the left indicates one or more of the following for members of the group: premature closure, but continuation in CWLF; exit from CWLF to groups more congenial, e.g., rural communes; attempts, perhaps unconscious, to keep contact with the earlier naiveté and spirituality of the "hour I first believed," with the hope of sustaining nourishment from charismatic roots in a time of increasing institutionalization. The length of the arrow is meant to indicate the strength of the trend.

Fixation at one meaning level	←	Jesus the Alternative	→	Christian philosophy of life. Larger Christology.
Closure	←	Jesus the Experience	→	Sine qua non to build on; a constant nourishment for ministry.
Closure	←	Jesus—Homecoming	→	New identity. Nondefensive engagement with society and culture.
Unexamined locating of radical Christian life-style within counterculture	←	Jesus—One of Us	→	Lord
Closure, leaving group, earlier simplicity	←	Jesus—Coming Soon	⊣	An article of faith, but not a primary symbol.

While much of the Jesus movement seems to have fixed on symbols which lead to closure, blissed-out rapture, and introversion, some groups, including CWLF, have seen those symbols decline. In their place is a Jesus who calls to creative, culture-engaging ministries, to deeper theological studies, and to the attempt, still halting, to fashion a Christian philosophy and life-style which will be a vigorous third way, even if only a remnant is committed to it. The latter is an attempt audacious, promising, and easily derailed.

It is one thing to fix on a Jesus whose dimensions and underpinnings are not likely to lead the group into disintegration or irrelevance. CWLF seems to have accomplished that. It is another to fix on a Jesus who does not carry the movement so rapidly or thoughtlessly into institutionalization that the original charisma is lost and there simply occurs another splinter in the sectarian establishment. We save for Chapter VII a discussion of how CWLF is faring there. Was its original charisma tied to the streets and to the atmosphere of the late sixties in which the Jesus movement first arose? Is a symbolization of Jesus (and of the group) emerging which sees the Christian walk as a creative third way whose attractive introversion will shine like a beacon to the larger society? May we expect creative breakthrough, inducements to or proleptic anticipations of societal change, new religious consciousness?

Who Is Jesus: Style

What is the theological-intellectual-cultural style surrounding the symbols of Jesus upon which CWLF came to focus? The style of ministry certainly becomes a part of the message. Just as central symbols change, styles change. Three constants in the CWLF style are a fixation on the Bible as uniquely authoritative, a life of prayer, and a commitment to "heart religion." In transition are the meaning of "one way," the naive anti-intellectualism which only occasionally characterizes CWLF, and an interesting evangelical utilitarianism.

How Do I Know? The Bible Tells Me So!

The brothers and sisters of CWLF tend to assume that a direct return to the Jesus of the New Testament is possible and necessary. New converts discover that the Bible is thought to be God's revealed Word, uniquely and verbally inspired, the Truth. Jesus is the divine Son reliably revealed in the New Testament. The Bible tells all one needs to know, and the Jesus whom the twentieth-century believer knows in his heart is believed to be this very Jesus of the Bible, a figure of certainty and authority. Robert Ellwood has written:

> The infallibility of Scripture sets the whole narrative of the Bible, for the evangelical, in a special time capsule. It happened in the course of history, but it has not been borne away on the splashing waves of the river. Instead the Bible and its time stands like a lighthouse in the midst of history. Bible time is special; it stands in equal relation to all other points in time. The evangelical is always contemporaneous with it, particularly with the time of Christ. He always wants to collapse into nothing all time between himself and the New Testament. He strives to negate all customs and attitudes which have evolved in the life of the church between then and now. He wants to walk into the time capsule which is the New Testament world, with its miracles, its expectation of an immediate end, and above all the mighty tangible presence of Jesus Christ.[18]

The return to the Bible is not only an inheritance from evangelicalism and determined by the fact that the earliest missionaries to the

Jesus movement were coming from fundamentalist-evangelical-Pentecostal traditions. The return to the Book has often been linked with a move away from something else—priests, Church, the vagaries of current theology, factionalism, failures in the spiritual life. The cry "Back to the Sources"[19] may arise in any age or circle of people who are distressed, deprived, unchallenged, or unhelped by whatever has gone immediately before. To go back far enough is to rediscover life, certainty, joy, purity, the fountain of youth. Such a cry connects to the nostalgia currently engulfing America or to the good old days every age tries desperately to remember.

The Holy Book also serves what Theodore Roszak has called a "re-mythologising of men's thinking" in the sixties. If science had given this age the "myth of objective consciousness," those seeking to displace that tyranny may seek new myths or revitalization of old ones. CWLF's mission to campus was seen partly as an effort to replace that which the University and its Enlightenment children thought they had eliminated. Some of those attracted to CWLF had already been opened up to re-mythologizing by their experience of altered states of consciousness in the drug culture. They positively rejoiced in the "deviant" perspectives and worldview they found in the Bible.

In the dialogue between CWLF and the Graduate Theological Union, Jack Sparks was careful to say that CWLF and the Jesus movement had a "high" view of Scripture. This meant that the Bible is God's book, that it is verbally inspired, that it does not need to be and should not be subject to what is sometimes called "higher criticism." It is perfectly and completely reliable. You can depend on it to tell you God's will for your life, what you should believe, who Jesus is, what God is like, etc.

The Bible is the Authority in a time of uncertain quests. No human traditions stand close ot it. The view of Scripture in CWLF runs from fundamentalist to a kind of new evangelicalism which is willing to use certain tools of scholarship in Biblical study. There is no view of the Bible as the Church's book, as in Roman Catholicism, or as the cradle of Christ or witness to the Gospel, as in Lutheranism. Of course, there is no sense of the Bible as a document in the history of religions or the end result of historical-psychological-sociological processes in the early Church.

There are some elements of these views, however, though they are not recognized as coming out of particular historical-theological traditions. There is a kind of consciousness which sees the Bible as the community's book, but in the sense of constant companion and nourisher. There is also a kind of consciousness that sees the Bible as the bearer of Good News for bad situations, as a rescue operation for lost people, as hope for those in despair, as answer for those longing for certainty. In these cases the Jesus person has an existential relationship to the Bible, much like Luther's, for example. Desperate for answers or assurance, they have gone to the Bible. There they found what they were looking for. From that time on the Bible is preeminently important in their lives. It gained weight and authority from what it did for them. It is the book through which God brought them to life when they were dead.

This view of the Bible as the witness to Good News brought by God to people in a fallen world or wretched personal circumstances easily shifts to a view of the Bible as the instrument of salvation, as the source of salvation, the norm and guarantor of salvation. Nothing must be said against the Book. Some Jesus People will hold the fundamentalist domino theory—if anything were thought to be in error in that Bible, their entire coming to life might be called into question. Christianity becomes the religion of the Book. It is verifiable because the Book is dependable.

The rationale for the place of the Book in the community's life, when it is developed with some sophistication, tends to come from a conservative Calvinist apologetic. In the January 1972 issue of Right On David wrote an article: "Quotations from Chairman Jesus, or, Why Our Worldview Is Based on the Bible." He mentions the beginning of CWLF in Berkeley. Some brothers and sisters "discovered a book, a source, which provides a valid and workable basis for a new life." The decision to follow that source came because of overwhelming experiential and historical evidence. "The past three years have proven to us time and again that the Scriptures are uniquely able to solve our hassles and questions and provide a basis for meaningful and joyful new life."

Jesus People in CWLF are not averse to critical Bible study if it is defined properly. They accept certain kinds of "criticism." At a workshop in 1972 one speaker urged Bible students to work hard and pray for the Spirit. "You don't take a pill at night with your prayer and wake up in the morning a Bible scholar." He suggested studying the Bible historically (events against their historical background), biographically, doctrinally, and inductively (beginning from the straight message of a given text). He suggested five steps for the Bible student: observe, interpret, summarize, evaluate, apply. He noted his frustration with many Jesus People who want to begin with the fifth step. "When I did a study of 1 Peter at my house meeting, people nearly died before we could get to the application." Under the fourth step, evaluation, the speaker suggested some questions: "Was the author successful in getting his message across? Is the message culturally conditioned? How does this bear on my understanding of other texts? Don't just take one passage and run with it."

Another speaker at that workshop said he felt the three most important books in the New Testament were Romans, Ephesians, and John, in that order. He thought a Bible student should be equipped with diligence, exposure to literature and current events, and good tools. He suggested the Revised Standard Version and the Jerusalem Bible as the two best English versions. (This speaker was Larry, who was speaking more from his evangelical Presbyterianism than from the context of the Jesus movement.) "The King James Version has more errors per square inch than any other translation. Put it back on the shelf if you want to do serious Bible study. If you insist on using it, I'll pray for you." Clearly the favorite version among the group at the workshop was the New American Standard Bible, a very popular version among American fundamentalists and evangelicals.

Such attitudes as these two do not represent the majority in CWLF. Many continue day-by-day Bible study which they take seriously but which in one sense, at least, is not serious Bible study. It is study born out of their own life experiences and needs. They do not cease to address the Bible with the questions arising from their life situations, and they fully expect answers to those questions—and receive them. Such expectations make Scripture (and religion) highly functional.[20]

CWLF brothers and sisters do not tend to be "Bible-beaters" or "Bible-pounders." There is no hardsell in CWLF ministries. CWLF people take a mellow approach and tend to be wary of laying trips on people. They are embarrassed by the campus preachers who assault their audiences while waving the Bible. Even the standard practice of winning an argument by a clincher Bible verse is uncommon except with a few in CWLF.

Liberal theologians often insist that Christianity is not a religion of the "holy book" dropped down from heaven—in the sense of the Koran or the Book of Mormon. They disclaim any magical properties for the Bible and insist it should not be used in magical ways. It is not difficult to find [illegible]ctices among Jesus People bordering on magic with respect to the B[illegible]e. There are reports of Jesus People (not in CWLF) who "cut" the Bible as one would cut a deck of cards. What opens up is God's Word for that person for that situation. Perhaps a few brothers and sisters in CWLF may do this in private. This kind of use of the Bible has a long tradition. Fundamentalists in the Bible Belt and a thousand rural areas were cutting their Bibles in expectation of direct messages from God long before Jesus People thought to do it.

When it happens in the youth culture, however, one can scarcely avoid comparing it to practices among non-Christian groups. In I Ching one can toss yarrow stalks or three coins and be led to a chapter in the Book of Changes which will be the most appropriate for your particular need. The sixty-four chapters in the book will cover all the possibilities. There are also tarot cards and astrology.

Jesus People are accustomed to speaking to God and fully expect God to speak to them. A favorite song is "Have you ever heard God speaking to you?" To personalize the message God speaks through the Bible one may be led to cut the Bible and hear God's direct message for one's life. Dramatic religious conversions and peak experiences from Augustine to Wesley have been connected with just such a use of the Bible.

I Talked to Him This Morning

Billy Graham answered the Death of God movement: "I know he's not dead, I talked to him this morning." If the Jesus movement has a sacrament it is undoubtedly prayer. It is the one thing without question all Jesus People do regularly, the chief expression of their Christian life. Prayer in private and in public, prayer for themselves and for the brothers and sisters, prayer for those in the world not yet Christians. The Family probably comes closer than most Christian groups to Paul's exhortation: "Pray without ceasing" (Eph. 6:18).

Prayer is the chief expression of their relationship to God, how they construct the world, how they view the brothers and sisters, how they think about life and their own lives in particular. Prayer is the means whereby every thought is "brought into captivity to Jesus Christ" and every aspect of life is brought within the boundaries of a religious perspective. In prayer the boundary between sacred and secular is erased. All concerns and all issues are brought into a religious worldview. The brother mentioned in Chapter IV who wanted a Christian optometrist was simply expressing outwardly the way his prayer life works.

Prayer is never discussed as a problem. How can modern man pray? What is it correct to pray about, if one prays? Is prayer really only . . . ? Prayer is self-evident. People pray if they are Christians. They pray to the Father who brought them miraculously into his Family. Whatever passes before the eyes, whatever is a hassle, whatever there is to be thankful for, whoever needs help, whatever direction is sought, when things seem hopeless, when people are wept over—all these turn into prayer. Prayer is at least as significant in any public gathering of Jesus People as Bible study, and often takes as much time. There are prayer cards, prayer groups, prayer chains, prayer meetings, prayer letters. There is prayer without ceasing.

One Way!

The most well-known slogan from the Jesus movement is "One Way," usually accompanied by a gesture in which the index finger is pointed upward to God. The One Way mentality is the one thing about Jesus People that some find most engaging and others most irritating. The One Way mentality has been called simplistic. It is not uncommon.

To solve human problems and indeed the human dilemma in a single-minded way is nothing new. To the nagging question of the times Jesus People have given the answer, "God," the human potential movement has answered, "Maslow" or "Perls," and the radicals, "Marx." Such single-mindedness can also be observed in the women's movement and among ethnic movements. While the new fundamentalisms may be most conspicuous on the esoteric religious scene, classical true believership can be found in every scene and at every period of history.

The sophisticated Jesus person knows these criticisms and is sensitive to the suggestion that he is one of many current quests for certainty turned into a fad when someone found an answer that worked for him. He argues that he has in fact met Jesus Christ, God's Son, that his life has been radically changed, turned around, and that all this is witnessed to by an infallible Bible which is the very revelation of the God of the universe. He may or may not try to prove this to you. He will definitely invite you to end your search and let God in Jesus be your Answer, too. See if it isn't so! The "I know" of his subjective experience is immune to the attacks of rationalist critics and the charges of relativism.

The hope, the desperate hope, that there must be something which is beyond everything else, which is qualitatively different resonates through much of the youth culture, especially amidst the apparent failure of political action and amidst those who never had the energy for political action. Roszak notes:

> When the New Left calls for peace and gives us heavy analysis of what's what in Vietnam, the hippy quickly translates the word into shantih, the peace that passes all understanding, and fills in the

> psychic dimensions of the ideal. If investigating the life of shantih has little to do with achieving peace in Vietnam, perhaps it is the best way of preventing the next several Vietnams from happening.[21]

The Jesus People are certain they have found that "peace which passes all understanding" (Phil. 4:7), and shout out the One Way they have discovered. The Jesus People joined the war marches and the poverty marches, they went to the debates on campus regarding child care, welfare, and militarism. Some of those who write for Right On, for example, might well echo Roszak's rhetorical question:

> Will it be a victory, then, or a defeat for the counter culture when the black man has at last fought his way clear of desperate expedients and wrings from the Great Society the white man's legal equivalent of looting: a steady job, a secure income, easy credit, free access to all the local emporiums, and his own home to pile the merchandise in?[22]

Given the joy of that new certainty, that utter salvation the Jesus person has discovered and come to know, it is not surprising that the Truth of it all, Jesus, engages him at every level of life and at every level of explanation about the problems of life. What engages the Jesus person as ultimate concern, in Tillich's phrase describing the essence of religion, is the ultimate Answer to the human dilemma which they see God giving in the person of Jesus—an Answer they rejoice to share with the world, an Answer which must not be compromised in any syncretist blend with all the other ideas afloat in the culture, even the counter-culture. The Truth of One Way is there and the whole of the Jesus person's being warms to it. A new self comes into being which is a celebration of the Truth in Jesus. The Jesus person conforms his life to the One Way. Had not Paul written to the early Christians, "Be not conformed to the world, but be transformed by the renewing of your minds" and "If any man is in Christ he is a new creation"? Only when this has happened, only when the One Way has been recognized, experienced, and worshipped ultimately will all those other things in the Kingdom "be yours as well" (Matt. 6:33). Jesus People in CWLF agree with Roszak's comment about the meaninglessness of even the best things "in the absence of a transcendent correspondence,"[23] though they would flesh out that symbolic language with the person of Jesus. Some Jesus People are capable of an excitement about life and a vigorous engagement of life which really sees all creation waking up for the first time to rebirth—a rebirth visible only from the perspective of one's own rebirth in Jesus.

Jesus People often talk about the God-shaped box in their hearts. Life is empty, all of it, until that box is filled. Nothing is true until the Truth lives there. Jesus People think they have the Answer to that longing for fulfillment and purpose which Roszak writes about so eloquently:

> [Even the greatest technological achievements] leave ungratified that dimension of the self which reaches out into the world for enduring purpose, undying value. That need is not some unfortunate psychic liability left over from the infancy of the race which we ought now to outgrow. It is, rather, the emotional reflection in mankind of that intentional thrust we can find in the most basic organic stuff, in the purposeful action of the protein matter that toils away in every cell of our being. How can we help but to be creatures in search of value and meaning? Not the tiniest microparticle of us but throbs with a lively need to work out its destiny. At the level of mind, that need becomes like an organ of sense, as eager to know its proper object as the eye to know light, the flesh to know touch. And that object is the reality of transcendent symbols.[24]

Others would argue that the great One Way has no such effect on Jesus People. There is no abundant life at all, but a sectarian narrowness, a joy that is ascetic, world denial, and attitudes of judgment and legalism. Peter Marin suggests the Jesus cults "are in reality an ironic extension of what Henry Miller once called the 'universe of Death,' the grid of compulsive moral abstractions that separates us from experience. . . . We use our spirituality . . . as a defense against life. [It offers us] an end not only to pain, age, and death but also to the complexities of 'personhood.'"[25] He believes the new Christianity is "merely another shape of our habitual cultural rejection of the truth of our own lives."[26] Mysticism and nationalism are forms of the same evasion, the same panicked impulse.[27]

There is no one truth about the One Way mentality. For some it is repressive, for others abundant. One Way can by definition never receive a sympathetic understanding among those who theologically are "universalists" or historically and philosophically are "relativists." Beyond that, there will be those Jesus People whose One Way seems winsome and refreshing, even if one disagrees, and those whose One Way seems self-righteous and legalistic, even if one agrees. One may assume that there may be some Jesus People who assert the One Way with a revolutionary naiveté. They have been around, they know the problems, and they find Christianity the most satisfying answer, an answer which they are able to discuss with freshness, vigor, and openness. To be sure, this naiveté, in Riceour's terms, is primary not secondary. They are not playfully choosing one Answer to live by among many valid ones. One thing they are joyously but seriously certain about: apart from Christ man is one-dimensional.

Thank You, Jesus

"Thank you Jesus" may be an ecstatic expression of joy or a covert exclamation of relief that I don't have to use my mind anymore. It is a phrase uttered with joyful naiveté and willful simplicity. Many Jesus People have never been intellectual and could not make it as intellectuals; their life in the movement is simply an ongoing expression of that posture. For some, a slight anti-intellectualism is a healthy reaction to theological jargon and intellectualized religion devoid of warm experience. For others, perhaps Jack Sparks, a slight anti-intellectualism suggests the decisive turn away from the academic scene and a determination to stay away from it because it is "all dust." For some with roots in the counterculture anti-intellectualism is really an irrationalism valued for its own sake. Such irrationalism has connections with the supposed revival of romanticism, it is a flower waved in the face of a technological age.

For some Jesus leaders anti-intellectualism is a convenient means of making up for lack of academic legitimation. For many Jesus People it is the inevitable result of the conclusion that all seminaries and all theologians have denied the faith. Anti-intellectualism sometimes goes hand in hand with an apocalyptic which has already substituted the second coming of Christ for a future of wrestling with the human dilemma—even if you have the Answer. CWLF officially and Right On in particular utterly disclaim any anti-intellectualism and commit themselves to the

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use of the mind in the Christian life. This has been an easier approach for Right On to take now that it is no longer a paper of the streets.

Try It, You'll Like It!

The presentation and defense of the faith may range from a hand-distributed copy of something like the Four Spiritual Laws to Right On's column about the necessity of a historical and existential faith, from a personal "Why Don't You Look into Jesus?" to a sophisticated dialogue. But there is a strong tendency toward a utilitarian approach. Jesus works. "This is what Jesus has done in my life. He can do it in yours too. Just try it. You have nothing to lose."

The image occasionally approaches that of the frontier medicine man who has a tonic appropriate to nearly anything that ails the prospective buyer. Such a religion has an ad hoc quality to it and is always in danger of being reductionist. Too much of what religion can be is allowed to escape. The power in religion to revolutionize a person or society, to carry them to new heights of achievement for God or people, to motivate heroic, selfless striving tends to stay far out of view. A religion that is useful is too easily subverted into hedonism or various kinds of personal agendas.

Yet the utilitarian approach may be only a first step. The Jesus Saves step. We have seen that not far behind that step, at least in CWLF, has come the Jesus as Lord who calls people to discipleship and service. When that step does not come, utilitarian religion, whether of the evangelistic or Norman Vincent Peale variety, too easily lends itself to nothing other than self-actualization without dimensions of transcendence. Rev. Ike is one example. Some of Abraham Maslow's disciples are another. CWLF has escaped most of the American acculturation which clings to so much utilitarian evangelism. The reason is probably more in their countercultural pasts than in any more profound Bible study on their part. Alienation from current American values and the American system predisposes them eventually to include that very prophetic voice which utilitarian religion tends to exclude.

In Your Heart, You Know Him

Bryan Wilson suggests that every new sect produces an essential answer to the question, "What must I do to be saved?" One answer is "heart religion." No priest, no ritual, no social reformation may be substituted for the individual change of heart, the individual and personal invitation to God through Jesus to come into one's life, the individual and personal relationship with a personal God, the individualized decision for Christ.

Heart religion is highly personalized, warmly bracing, full of emotion, joyful. There is a natural spilling over into witness to others and sharing of the faith. The believer is always conscious of something personal that has happened to him, something that can be shared—"What the Lord has done in my life." This salvation is only remotely a body of doctrines which one spends one's energy believing. Yet, if one asks about doctrine, this heart religion believer is orthodox and accepts as literally true Biblical affirmations about the "fundamentals."

The salvation of heart religion is never expressed in such shorthand phrases as belonging to or joining a church or accepting a given creed or standing in a theological tradition or by certain religious practices or ritual. The only expression for this salvation is "coming to the Lord." Other phrases would be "gave my life to Christ," "accepted the Lord," "made my decision," "invited Jesus into my life."

Such expressions arise from experiences of conversion and personal experiences of God's presence and direction. These experiences get sedimented into the language of evangelism and devotion. When someone comes into the Jesus movement, hears such language, and begins using it, he is acting out a definition of salvation as heart religion and reinforcing it in his own consciousness. If he has been a Christian before, of a non-heart religion variety, he may consciously adapt his old religious language to the language common to his new group. It is less likely that he will go on using different (opposing) religious language. He may feel social sanctions, real or imaginary, or some vague "we don't use that kind of language in this family" sense. The more he uses such language the more likely he is to experience the experiences which have been sedimented in such language. If he lives in more than one religious language world, he may sometimes lose track of which world he is in and forgetfully use the language of one in the other—like the man who calls his wife by his girl friend's name. The religious circles which never use the language of heart religion are quite simply not likely to have the kinds of experiences which that language conveys. If someone enters such a non-heart religion circle but has had heart religion experiences in the past, he may either continue to use his heart religion language or adapt himself to the language of the new group. If he does the latter, he may either continue as a closed heart religionist or, perhaps more likely, soon cease having such experiences—because he is regularly using a language which has no way of expressing them.

In heart religion the will of the person is of crucial importance. It is assumed both that the will stands against God and separates one from God and that the will is free and may make a decision for God and his will for one's life. In conversion something crucial happens to the will. This may be described in seemingly contradictory ways. One abandons one's will, stops resisting, lets the Lord take over. Many personal testimonies tell of this event. "I realized I couldn't do it. I just gave up and turned my life over to the Lord. Here, Lord, you'll have to take over." One of the Right On articles quoted above pictured coming to the Lord as the end of continued spiritual searching, not the end result, but the termination of. Christianity is a new way, not the end result of the old way. "You can stop searching. God has found you."

But one may also emphasize the free, will-ing decision. "I invited Jesus into my life. I made a decision for Christ." This is the ultimate decision, the preeminently spiritual act of the will.

The natural accompaniment to this emphasis on will is the strong emphasis on one's "walk" in the Lord—which usually means one's personal ethic. It was precisely the willful inviting Christ into one's life and the willful walking in his will which were combined in the theology of John Wesley and early Methodism. Wesley was convinced that the Lutheran talk about the bondage of the will (in an effort to magnify God's absolute grace and the objectivity of salvation and justification) could and did short circuit the emphasis on sanctification, the fruits of the Christian life, the seriousness of the Christian walk.[28]

Heart religion, the invitation to Jesus to take over one's life as the central act of conversion, and a personal and prayerful relation to the Father are scarcely typical of all American Christianity. Significant religious rituals, such as infant baptism and going to Mass, will be of much greater importance for many Roman Catholics, though "charismatic renewal" Catholics know a good deal about heart religion and personal religious fervor. For many American Protestants, the preeminent ingredients in the religious life and in salvation might be right doctrine, church membership, having the baptism of the Spirit, being responsible citizens or good people, church orders, Christianizing society, commitment to humanization, being American,[29] etc. One father interviewed in connection with the Jesus movement said, "I sent my daughter to Sunday School to make her a better person, not to get her sold out for Jesus." When Billy Graham writes that one of the ten marks of the Jesus movement (he places it third) is "the demand for an experience with Jesus Christ,"[30] he is certainly allying the Jesus movement with himself, but not with all of American Protestantism by any means.

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Who Is Jesus: Structure

To what are the disciples of Jesus called? What is the shape of the family that grows up around heart religion? What do these followers of Jesus think they should be doing in the world? Has the community developed a stance vis-à-vis the world?

The Family

A central reality for new Christians in the Jesus movement is that family of brothers and sisters who brought them to Christ and who will nourish and sustain them for a short or long time. If the community should cease to exist, many of these new Jesus People would cease to exist—as new Christians. Should the community become an unmended net, they will drop like fish through the holes. If the community remains strong and together, they will have a chance to learn what a Christian family is. They will get the chance to become strong and grow up in their new faith.

Classical theological discussions of the doctrine of the church (ecclesiology) often mention the "marks of the church." Depending on the tradition, these marks may include a clergy with apostolic succession, the correct administration of the sacraments, the true preaching of the Gospel, a visible sign in the Bishop of Rome, a born-again community under the sign of the believer's baptism, holiness, etc. Perhaps the central mark of the Christian community for Jesus People is the presence of a caring group of brothers and sisters who sustain and nourish one another, who minister to one another. One might call that the priesthood of all believers, but only rarely in church history, outside the monastic orders, has that expression come to be experienced as each Christian ministering to and praying for the other. Jesus People often call such a group the Family, or simply "the brothers and sisters."

The Family may be that fellowship in which one first came to the Lord or the group toward which one somehow gravitated in a given locality. There is the assumption that wherever one goes, and there is considerable mobility among Jesus People, one will somehow link up with local Christian brothers and sisters. In the summer of 1973 several brothers and sisters laid hands on a Puerto Rican brother who was flying to Barcelona the following day for several months of Spanish mission work. Prominent among the words spoken over him was the prayer that he would immediately be led to discover a community of believers in Barcelona, "for we know that we cannot make it on our own." The flavor of those prayers, envisaging countless local churches raised up by God to contain the believers he is calling to himself, is one the Jesus movement may share with the early church as recorded in the Book of Acts.

The notion of "body life" is very important to the members of the Christian Family. The term comes from a popular book,[31] read by several in CWLF, by Pastor Ray Stedman of the Peninsula Bible Church in Palo Alto. Based loosely on the epistle to the Ephesians, the book argues for a Christian community that is full of life, intensity, spiritual gifts, mutual support, and the Spirit.

When thoughtful people in the Jesus movement, particularly in CWLF, seek assurance for their position or answers to their critics in the established churches, they often turn in the direction that reformers or revolutionaries in all periods of the Church have turned—the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit blows where it wills," Jesus told Nicodemus (John 3:8). Jesus People leaders became convinced that the Spirit may need to go outside the walls to get people on the move again. Those interested in prophecy are certain the Jesus movement is one manifestation of God's pouring out his Spirit on all flesh in the latter days (Joel 2:28).

So-called (by the Establishment) Enthusiasts (*Schwaermer*) in every age have looked to the Spirit for legitimation for their departures from tradition. When early missionaries to the youth culture came to make Christ an issue, they invoked the guidance and leading of the Spirit, for they were departing from old ways and often from established Christian organizations.

Once the departure is successful and begins to be institutionalized, however, the Spirit may be reined in. In the early Church the Spirit had eventually to be tied to the office of Bishop to keep things from getting out of hand. In a CWLF workshop in 1972, Larry carefully tied the work of the Spirit to the whole community and made it clear that the Spirit does not come upon one member of the community in isolation. (Enthusiasts who thought the Spirit was an individualist tended to give the elders problems.) In the summer of 1973 when the director of Street Theater, Frank, awoke at 3 a.m. to hear God telling him to take over the office of business manager vacated when Larry was dismissed, at least one person, with a long background in the political movement, 5

objected. "We should be wary anytime someone feels led by the Spirit into a position of status. Why not bring this before the group, the community, and let us who are also in the Spirit confirm or disconfirm the way you feel the Spirit leading you?"

In many ways the family of brothers and sisters is simply a lived expression of what many Jesus People have wanted, longed for. The new community answers the dreams of the past and is the fresh alternative to what they have come to reject. Ecclesiology has been called "doctrine worked out sociologically." What Jesus People need, what they believe they have found, what shaped their new experience in Christ and indeed was the midwife for it, what Jesus comes to mean as he takes on the flesh of the brothers and sisters, in his Body—is the Christian community. It is God's answer for their lives worked out in social terms, it is heart religion taking on a corporeal dimension. In this community Jesus People see things happening, God doing his work, promises coming true.

Theodore Roszak has written about the community he sees coming into being: "There is a visionary commonwealth already in our midst, and one need not look far to find it in one form or another."[32] He sounds like Jesus proclaiming to the multitudes, "The Kingdom of God is among you." He continues:

> None of these experiments began because people discovered the ground plan for a new social order. Rather, they started with something else that lent the impossible complexity of the revolution a startling simplicity. They did not start with people asking, how do I save the technology? but with the more pertinent question, how do I save my soul? When that question has been pressed to the deepest level of the self, then—

> suddenly—we are at the threshold of a new reality where the necessities and inevitabilities of the technocratic society look a good deal less commanding.[33]

What Is the Family To Do in the World? The Question of Social Ethics

The development of some kind of social ethic within CWLF has taken place against the general assumptions of a "heart religion," which always emphasizes the priority of individual conversion, and against a narrower Anabaptist tradition. Always among American fundamentalists and evangelicals has there been an emphasis on the absolute necessity and priority of individual conversion, "changed hearts," before one could talk about changing society. "The problem is in the heart of man not in the social system." That emphasis is not unique to Billy Graham, but his preaching has been the most popular exposition of it in recent decades. Anabaptist intentionalism and separatism have been much less in the mainstream of American Protestantism. Small, almost esoteric, groups of Plymouth Brethren and their like have kept it alive, and a strong tradition of historical scholarship in the Mennonite tradition has been especially important. The two editors of Right On both stand within this tradition and their influence in CWLF has been significant.

Curiously, the social Gospel movement of the early decades of this century made a similar emphasis in social ethics, though with a quite different theological base. Presenting itself as an alternative to socialism or as a Christian socialism, the movement was insistent on translating its gospel into social concern and action. All but a few of the social gospelers, however, spent themselves in moral exhortation. They believed warmed hearts would change societal conditions. Christianity was not working because it had not really been tried. Individual hearts had to be changed and challenged. When fundamentalists and evangelicals made this claim, they were connecting it to a "blood atonement," an infallible Bible, a conversion experience, and a divine Christ, and the expression of their social concerns never achieved the scope or intensity of the social gospel movement.

From the fundamentalist-evangelical tradition, then, comes a social ethic based on individual conversion. The question of a social ethic for the "world" is rarely raised. It is a Christian social ethic and it is a social ethic for Christians only, as it were. From the Anabaptist tradition has come a strong emphasis on the church as a voluntary-intentional community, on the continuing validity and applicability of the Sermon on the Mount as the basis for a social ethic, on rigorous discipleship, on an absolute separation between the Kingdom of God, in which the Christian lives, and the kingdom of the world, and on the return of Christ.

Several selections from Right On suggest work toward a social ethic from within this context. The February 1972 issue had a letter from a reader asking for help on a term paper he was writing: "The Christian and his impact on reforming the social order." The editors' reply would enrage radicals, if they read the paper, and does not so much present a position in social ethics as deny one.

> When we look at the life of Jesus, we see that He spent much of His time ministering to the personal needs of the people around Him. He usually avoided direct political confrontation—as when the issue of taxation was thrown at Him. . . .

> Getting tangled in the political hassles would have side-tracked Jesus and His followers from the mission of redemption and reconciliation; it would have alienated a lot of people He loved and came to save. As it was, Jesus served both the supporters of the Roman regime and those who opposed it. . . .
>
> However, it is obvious that the Christian ethic "Love your neighbor as yourself" has tremendous social implications and will influence political behavior. Consider Reformation Switzerland and the Netherlands, anti-slave trade and anti-slavery movements in Britain and America, and the pioneering work in humane care of orphans by George Mueller of England last century. Imagine the impact of factory owners acting on the principle of loving the workers as themselves!

The editors then mention Isaiah's strictures against the rich who oppress the poor and Jesus' admonition after the Good Samaritan story to go and do likewise. "We are responsible before God, then, for our personal, social, and political actions, and ask Him for wisdom in best using our energies."

The answer takes a position Billy Graham has argued repeatedly to defend himself against his critics: "the essential spiritual mission of the Gospel will be side-tracked if I begin taking political sides." There is an unwillingness either to accept as the task of a social ethic the working out of a critical analysis of society and social-economic structure, especially class, or even to engage the social-political scene except via individual acts of ethical concern. While CWLF is decidedly unfriendly to Billy Graham's tacit acceptance of the status quo (in one staff meeting in 1973 an angry brother took up a great deal of time reading an entire article from Graham's paper *Decision* which had irritated him), this article would seem to fall within the Graham way of doing (or not doing) social ethics. It evokes precisely the dangers of tacit acceptance of the status quo. "Not to decide is to decide." The latent strength of the position, but a strength which is not developed at all, nor argued for, and hence lost, is its insistence that a Christian prophetic critique will always stand over all parties and all movements.

The January 1972 Right On featured an article entitled "Strategy for Social Change." The author argues for a Christian strategy of "infiltration" as a third alternative to the institutional reformers and those who favor violence. Christians can change the direction of society by acquiring "the controls of the power structure through infiltration."

> There is an Infiltrator, whom you have undoubtedly heard about but whom you probably have never seriously considered. He works for the best for all mankind when He is allowed the slightest entrance. He is the Liberator. You see, no matter how skilled we may be in acquiring power and bringing about revolution, we too are susceptible to the works of "the flesh" such as malice, greed, power-tripping, etc. Jesus the Liberator can infiltrate the hearts and souls of any and all mankind.

While the Christian should explore all avenues of social change, his ultimate strategy is to "work for Jesus the Liberator, to present Him to people in (and out of) power with a prayer that He will transform their lives and thence their programs."

To some this will seem obvious, and to others a destructive platitude. The Christian realism in social ethics which began in the 1930s with Reinhold Niebuhr wanted to be realistic in its analysis of the power situation in American society and hence refused to build an ethic on the tired line "Christianity hasn't worked because it hasn't been tried." The social ethic they build for the world would not depend on the moral commitment of Christians. An important but oft-neglected issue here is that evangelical Christians do not necessarily disagree with such a Niebuhrian social ethic. They simply do not see it as their task to build it. So convinced are they of the necessity of conversion on the one hand and the hopelessness of human solutions on the other that they find it meaningless to talk about ethics except in terms of born-again Christians. If they are accused of abandoning the world, as they always are, they point to their unexcelled missionary activity which they believe is the ultimate and the only way to save the world.

A social ethical position which cannot be accused of lack of sophistication or pedigree argues for a Christian "intentional community." In A Survey of Christian Ethics,[34] Edward Long describes three strategies for implementing ethical decision. One is the "intentional" motif. The others are the institutional approach, connected with classical Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, and the operational approach especially apparent in the school of Christian Realism. It would seem the institutional and operational motifs are "church-type" and the intentional motif "sect-type."

The intentional position has been represented by monasticisms, sectarian movements, reforming core groups, and special groups seeking certain ends outside the normal scope of the church. The intentionalist may seek "a heroic ethic, a demanding morality, and the satisfaction attending the performance of special duties."[35] They often look upon the age of persecution as a golden age because during it "the gulf between church and culture which marks the suffering, outcast church in a hostile world"[36] was most obvious.

> The intentionalist is usually concerned about devotion. He tends to be more worried by apathy than by injustice. He believes that spiritual wholeness is the prerequisite for health, even for serving the world. He tends to cultivate inner conviction before advocating outward action. He finds the company of the small dedicated group essential to the cultivation of conviction and the intensification of zeal. He cherishes the unique moral visibility of Christians, a visibility standing in contrast to the moral timidity of the world.[37]

Long's reason for choosing the term "intentional" is convincing enough to retain the term in this discussion. "Withdrawn" does not adequately cover groups which are quite service-centered. "Purist" is too broad for groups which are uncompromising about only selected issues. "Monastic" has special reference to vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. "Separatist" implies complete world denial. The infrequent use of the term "intentional" has kept it from acquiring too many prior connotations.[38]

Often such an intentionalist attempt arises from a small fellowship of concern. Olive Wyon has written about the revitalization movements in the churches of Europe:

> In every case, this "new life" emerges from a praying group: whether it is called a "community" or a "company" or a "team." In other words, the "living water" comes from Christ himself, where two or three meet in his name—and where, as in the first community of Jerusalem, they remain steadfastly together in faith and fellowship, in sacramental life and prayer.[39]

Very much the same could be said for the origins of CWLF, when three men met in Los Angeles to pray about the youth scene and the development of a ministry in Berkeley.

I do not suggest that CWLF has a carefully thought-out intentional position in social ethics, but some more thoughtful members of CWLF are moving in that direction. The best statement of such a position by a

CWLF "intellectual" appeared in the July 1972 Right On as its lead article.

The author begins emphasizing the ambiguity of revolution. "A new group rips off power from the old regime and basic conditions remain unchanged." The real Establishment for all people to fight is "the invisible system of rip-off, extortion, and exploitation, with the absolute principle of violence as its backbone." This is the invisible establishment which characterizes the Left and the Right. Thus violence is always reactionary. Significant change will not come from the top down, neither from alteration of structure nor destruction of it. What is needed is the injection of a new principle within the closed world system. For escape from the dilemma, the vertical (spiritual) dimension is critical. "Radical change must come from the bottom up—through the establishment of alternative life-styles which are based upon a new concept of community and human relationships." The cross of Christ is the key to True Revolution."

> The Cross as a revolutionary reality ended not in defeat, but in victory (the Resurrection); it declares that the victory of violent power is an illusion, and that suffering love is more powerful than torturing hatred. A single life made new by the love of Christ and lived in the power of God is itself a witness that a man need not be defined by his external situation, that he can live on the basis of new possibilities, that he no longer need be controlled by the socio-economic forces around him. The impact of the resurrection has been to de-fatalize the world and de-sanctify the powers that be. To say that Jesus is Lord is to say that Caesar and the President are not.
>
> The radical gospel proclaims not only that a Revolution of Love is possible, but that it has come. It means that a man cannot bring in the kingdom by his own works; he can only live the light of the revolution that has already taken place in Christ. . . . We are not called to make a sick world well; we are called to live well. That is a powerful political act in itself. In the final analysis, it means being the revolution.

A certain tone in this article, and especially the closing sentence, will sound similar to one direction the cultural revolution on the Left has taken. Jerry Rubin, for example, could and did utter almost precisely the same statement as the last two sentences. Such a viewpoint will also have affinity to Charles Reich's "consciousness three." Both the emphasis to "be the revolution" and the insistence on a change of consciousness preceding all other changes are the currency of the day. The author, of course, grounds this change of consciousness and the power to be the revolution in the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ. If some on the Left emphasized "organizing around your oppression" and seemed to find precisely in their alienation their ultimate resource for action, this kind of Christian position looks to the death and rebirth of self effected via a personal relationship with the Christ through whose dying and rising God set about to effect change and recall people to their intended humanity.

Criticism of this position is not unlike the criticism which surrounded the appearance of Charles Reich's The Greening of America.[40] Time magazine called the book "a colloidal suspension of William Buckley, William Blake and Herbert Marcuse in pure applesauce."[41] Reich is a true believer in the effective power of "consciousness three" the way Jesus People are true believers in the effect of individual conversions. Reich writes: "A change of consciousness must precede a new and enlarged understanding of our society."[42] Once that happens, once the self is recovered, "the power of the Corporate State will be ended, as miraculously as a kiss breaks a witch's evil enchantment."[43]

Reich writes words that could easily be put into the mouth of those few in CWLF who worry about what Establishment theologians and religionists think:

> To the sincere and dedicated liberal or radical, especially the one who has spent many years, perhaps his whole life, in battling for liberty and against the State, the idea that massive, authoritarian powers can best be fought by changing one's own life must seem puny and absurd. It must seem like lying down in front of a tank, or, worse yet, the weak and watery moralism of some frightened, timid, sycophantic preacher who enjoins us to reform ourselves while, outside, rampant evil rages unchecked. It is difficult for anyone who believes in action and social responsibility not to feel this; but even the most courageous battle is senseless if it mistakes the source of evil. We must answer the doubters by saying that their methods have failed and failed and failed, and that only changing one's own life confronts the real enemy.[44]

A few pages later he writes lines very similar to those at the end of the Right On article quoted above: "The only way to destroy the power of the Corporate State is to live differently now."[45] And a few pages later he writes what has appeared in countless Jesus periodicals, words that people in CWLF have spoken to a hundred Berkeley radicals: "The enemy is within each of us; so long as that is true, one structure is as bad as another."[46] If the point is still unclear, Reich writes in italics: "*All that is necessary to describe the new society is to describe a new way of life.*"[47] If Reich and Riszak psychologize the revolution, Jesus People theologize it. Their theology is a change of heart by personal relationship with God theology.

Max Weber has written about the thoroughly rationalized nature of the ethic of the eight-century B.C. prophets of Israel. That is, they drew out the ramifications of their ethic to every level of society. Their "definition of the situation" was one in which God was seen acting in history, moving among the nations and peoples, authoring cataclysmic events, calling covenant people to love justice in grand ways. The world scene and foreign politics is the theater of their God's activity.[48]

The definition of the situation is much different among Jesus People. The individual human heart is the theater of God's activity. To the individual heart the good news is proclaimed, and out of the individual heart will evolve a social ethic. At its widest, the definition of the situation of God's activity may include the small, direct community. But never the foreign policies with which the great prophets dealt. To be sure, foreign policy and end of world history do come into view—and most of all among the least "theological" Jesus People. But there it is the magic and despair of apocalyptic, the speculation about the judgment "our side" is bringing down upon the world. There was a time for apocalyptic in the Judaism before Christ, too. But it was a time when the confidence of the great prophets had left the scene. In despair men looked for an angry God who would deliver them from their enemies and bring a creation gone wrong to a halt with cataclysmic intervention.

One's ministry will naturally develop around one's definition of the situation. That is so obvious it often goes unrecognized. One can read Christianity and Crisis, the Christian Century, and Christianity Today, for example, and intuit quite clearly what their definition of the situation is. When the Jesus People or Billy Graham or fundamantalists are accused of not being where the action is, it is precisely because they do not think the action is where their critics think it is. Of course, the Jesus movement is not totally a-sociological. If God is most active in individual hearts, it would seem that the social location of most of those hearts is the youth culture.

There remains only the question of personal ethics, which we shall discuss briefly. Because the notion of heart religion predominates in the Jesus movement, the emphasis on personal ethics is very strong. One could argue that the Jesus movement does not, in fact, have any meaningful social ethic, only a personal ethic. Many observers have remarked on the near absence of drugs among people who formerly were heavy drug users, on the strict, even rigid, sexual chastity among people who formerly advocated free love and wide sexual experimentation. Many other practices, such as trashing, shoplifting, and revolutionary lying, which some in the youth culture have justified in view of an oppressive establishment, are also expected to cease among those who become Jesus People.

We could almost speak of new personal vows among many Jesus People, in the sense that vows grew up among monastics. Poverty is a vow of sorts; at least there is a decided and self-conscious attempt to live on little and reject all the trappings of "materialism." Chastity, though certainly not lifelong celibacy, is certainly a vow. Sexual relations are to be practiced only within marriage. There are real efforts not to lead others, especially Christian brothers, into temptation. Dress is normally modest, though typically in Southern California, mass baptisms often include young women whose bikinis attract more attention than their spirituality. Obedience is a vow somewhat less in evidence, especially in CWLF. Yet among groups like the Children of God and even many less severe rural communes, the willingness and ability to "submit oneself" is an absolute prerequisite for living in the community. An additional vow for most Jesus People would be pacifism. In few cases is this a position thought out politically or held in the name of some historic social ethic. It is assumed that pacifism was the ethic of Jesus and that pacifism and nonviolence should characterize Jesus People.

In the middle of the second century Justin Martyr spoke of the changes produced in the lives of Christians and tried to show the unreasonableness of persecution. Nock suggests that the Christian ethic might have looked like this (Justin's portrait) to an outsider:

> We who formerly rejoiced in uncleanness of life and now love only chastity; we who also used magic arts and have now dedicated ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who loved resources of money and possessions more than anything, and now actually share what we have and give to every one who is in need; we who hated one another and killed one another and would not eat with those of other race, and now since the manifestation of Christ have a common life and pray for our enemies and try to win over those who hate us without just cause.[49]

Jesus People would like to look like that. If much of that ethic seems the aspiration of any good man, Nock notes: "The real novelty in Christianity was the motive . . . ."[50] Jesus People would agree. It is the motive which identifies them, they believe.

The Family vis-à-vis the World

We have seen that the followers of Jesus in CWLF have joined together in families of brothers and sisters, that a close-knit Christian

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community became a central mark of the Church for them and the social realization of who Jesus was for them. But this is a Family which feels itself called to activities in the society and culture around it. Chapter V was a record of CWLF ministries. In the section immediately above we saw that the social ethics of CWLF grows out of the basic conceptions of "heart religion," but also approaches, for a few, the direction of an intentionalist position. On the basis of the classical church-sect distinctions of Ernst Troeltsch and of the more recent work of Bryan Wilson and H. Richard Niebuhr, we now try to locate CWLF's identity as a Christian community vis-à-vis the world.

Ernst Troeltsch's description of the ideal types of church and sect remains helpful for placing the Jesus movement clearly within that cluster of attitudes and perspectives Troeltsch has labeled sect and clearly outside what Troeltsch has labeled church. Troeltsch believed that he could summarize from his great study two ideal types produced by medieval Christianity: the idea of Christian society represented by Thomism and the radical attitude toward society evolved by the sects. He described them as follows:

> The position of the first type may be stated thus: the Church, which is regarded as a universal institution, endowed with absolute authoritative truth and the sacramental miraculous power of grace and redemption, takes up into its own life the secular institutions, groups, and values which have arisen out of the relative Natural Law, and are adapted to the conditions of the fallen state; the whole of the secular life, therefore, is summed up under the conception of a natural stage in human life, which prepares the way for the higher supernatural stage, for the ethic of grace and miracle, for the spiritual and hierarchical world-organization.
>
> The position of the second type may be thus summarized: the religious community has evolved its social ideal purely from the Gospel and from the Law of Christ; according to this type of

> thought the Christian character and holiness of this ideal should be proved by the unity reigning within the group and by the practical behaviour of the individual members, and not by objective institutional guarantees. Therefore, either it does not recognize the institutions, groups, and values which exist outside of Christianity at all, or in a quietly tolerant spirit of detachment from the world it avoids them, or under the influence of an 'enthusiastic' eschatology it attacks these institutions and replaces them by a purely Christian order of society.[51]

More succinctly, at the conclusion of his work, Troeltsch describes the Church as endowed with grace and salvation, able to receive the masses, adjust itself to the world, and even, to a certain extent, ignore the need for subjective holiness for the sake of the objective treasures of grace and redemption. The sect, on the other hand, is voluntary, composed of strict and definite believers who have experienced new birth, living apart from the world, emphasizing law instead of grace, setting up a Christian order based on love, doing all in preparation for the coming Kingdom.[52]

Within the terms of those descriptions, the Jesus movement, by and large, will fit much more into the sect type than the church type. There is an absolute insistence on heart religion, on being born again, and an absolute disinterest in taking into the embrace of the Christian community the whole of society.

Bryan Wilson has moved beyond the church-sect typology. His work makes it possible to locate the Jesus movement more precisely. In Religious Sects Wilson has described seven types of sectarian responses to the world: the conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist, manipulationist, and the thaumaturgical, reformist, and utopian. He pays most attention to the first four. The conversionist has its basic model in the heart experience; the revolutionist is a millennial model; the introversionist a community model; and the manipulationist a gnosis model.

His opening definition of a sect may today be more useful than that of Troeltsch. He writes in the introduction to Religious Sects:

> Sects are movements of religious protest. Their members separate themselves from other men in respect of their religous beliefs, practices and institutions, and often in many other departments of their lives. They reject the authority of orthodox religious leaders, and often, also, of the secular government. Allegiance to a sect is voluntary, but individuals are admitted only on proof of conviction, or by some other test of merit: continuing affiliation rests on sustained evidence of commitment to sect beliefs and practices. Sectarians put their faith first: they order their lives in accordance with it. The orthodox, in contrast, compromise faith with other interests, and their religion accommodates the demands of the secular culture.[53]

(In view of several groups which Wilson places within his sect typology, his last statement may be quite dubious.)

Wilson notes the changed situation since the work of Troeltsch and argues that church-sect distinctions in Troeltsch's sense are no longer useful. In America, for instance, the denominations in many ways fulfill the functions of Troeltsch's church, and there is no church as such. Wilson suggests several general attributes of sectarianism: voluntariness, exclusivity, the demand for merit in its members, clear self-identification, a kind of elite status, the practice of expulsion, an emphasis on conscience and commitment, and clear ideological legitimation.[54]

Wilson orders the variations among sectarian responses along answers to the question, What should be done to attain salvation? The conversionist response believes the world and its institutions are evil and that salvation is to be had only by a profound change of oneself. Such conversion usually occurs at a given time and as a known experience. This experience and acknowledgment of it are necessary to salvation. Men need a heart experience. The revolutionist response demands not that men change but that the world be changed. There is active, millennial expectation that God is about to move to change the world according to his will. The introversionist response, like the first two, recognizes the evil of the world and attempts to abandon the world and preserve and cultivate personal or communal holiness. Salvation will be found in the community of those who withdraw. The manipulationist response seeks salvation in the world but by means not generally known in the world. It seeks goals which all the world seeks, but will reach them by means of a new knowledge. With it the world can be manipulated for benefit.

The thaumaturgical response looks for salvation by magical dispensation from supernatural agencies. There is the highly particular expectation of release from tensions and difficulties, but only vague ideas of transformation or ultimate benefit. It is a demand for miracles. The reformist response emphasizes conscience as the chief insight derived from apprehension of the divine. Rational procedures are justified by religious inspiration. The utopian response looks for a basis for a radical reconstruction of the world, based on religious principles. Salvation comes from returning to the basic principles the Creator intended. "These appear to be the seven possible types of solution to the central religious quest. All of them assert that salvation is to be attained, and that supernatural agencies intend that at least some men should attain it."[55]

While there is evidence of the revolutionist or millenarian response in the Jesus movement and a small amount of Anabaptist introversion, the conversionist response seems most applicable to the Jesus movement and to CWLF. Wilson suggests the conversionist sects justify proselytizing, usually through revivalist techniques, because of the need to change men's hearts. "Proselytising is a way of keeping members busy, providing them with positive goals of action, maintaining emotional involvement, and providing concrete results as 'proofs of faith.'"[56] There is an emphasis on feeling, especially in relation to Jesus the Savior, and a fundamentalist adherence to the simple truths of the Bible.

To the extent that a reliance on Biblical prophecy as a guide to salvation characterizes any segments of the Jesus movement, Wilson's category of revolutionist response would be more fitting to describe them. History is a course of tribulations, but God is acting out his design. Knowledge of God's word and obedience to his commands ensures salvation. It is important to convince men intellectually of the truth of prophecy. A significant movement among some of the Jesus People toward rural communes may suggest the presence of Wilson's introversionist response as well. There is an emphasis on withdrawal and building of community as a place of preservation. This community is a gathered remnant. Among the Children of God, for example, such a community is to nurture and sustain them through the coming tribulations, whether of a

Communist takeover of America or something else. Nevertheless, among Jesus People there is always the pressure of evangelizing others which often completely recedes among the true introversionist sect. The Bruderhof or the Amish, for example, do no outside evangelizing.

H. Richard Niebuhr does not talk about church and sect in his Christ and Culture, but he sets out to describe the social-ethical world-views of historic Christianity by means of a fivefold typology. These are kinds of world affirmation and world denial, each with a certain blend of the two. He suggests that the five approaches are: Christ against culture, Christ of culture, Christ above culture, Christ and culture in paradox, and Christ the transformer of culture. The key variable, as the title already indicates, is attitude toward the culture. Is Jesus a threat to culture or not? Niebuhr suggested as the crucial question in his opening chapter, "The Enduring Problem." Was Gibbon correct when he argued in The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire that Christians are "animated by a contempt for present existence and by confidence in immortality"?[57] That charge is as fresh as yesterday's analysis of the Jesus movement, whether by a Jew, a liberal Protestant, a humanist, or a scientist. In words echoed by numerous critics of the Jesus movement, Niebuhr writes:

> Christianity seems to threaten culture . . . not because it prophesies that of all human achievements not one stone will be left on another but because Christ enables men to regard this disaster with a certain equanimity, directs their hopes toward another world, and so seems to deprive them of motivation to engage in the ceaseless labor of conserving a massive but insecure social heritage."[58]

In the early church Celsus had charged Christians with irresponsible withdrawal from the system and in the last century Marx charged them with hindering the revolution.

The "Christ against culture" emphasizes opposition, the challenge of an either/or decision. Early Christian attacks on Graeco-Roman civilization, monastic and sectarian movements, and the challenge of some modern missionaries to various cultures typify this approach. The "Christ of culture" type emphasizes agreement and Jesus is a hero of human cultural history, the one in whom the aspirations of men culminate. This position is most clearly reflected in the culture-Protestantism of nineteenth-century Germany. The other three types attempt to maintain the differences and hold them together in some unity. "Christ above culture" is best represented in Catholicism, especially the medieval synthesis of Aquinas. Christ is the fulfiller and restorer of culture, but from above. He is discontinuous, as well as continuous. "Christ and culture in paradox" is most clearly expressed by Luther. There are always two conflicting authorities to be obeyed. This type refuses the accommodation it sees in types two and three and the rejection of responsibility to society it sees in type one. The Christian life is lived in polarity and tension. The fifth type, "Christ transforming culture," is Niebuhr's preferred solution. The perversion of nature and culture is confessed, but this leads not to separation or endurance, as in types one and four, but to expectation of men's conversion in their culture. Augustine outlined this position and Calvin made it explicit.

It seems difficult to avoid placing the social-ethical identity of most Jesus groups, including CWLF, within Niebuhr's first type. This type "uncompromisingly affirms the sole authority of Christ over the Christian and resolutely rejects culture's claim to loyalty."[59] This position was prominent in early Christianity and was stated most radically by Tertullian in the second century. Christians are seen as a kind of third race, a new people. Later representatives would be the Rule of St. Benedict, the Anabaptist tradition, and the religion of Leo Tolstoy. In this type there is a clear reduplication of profession in conduct. There is appeal in proving to oneself and others that you mean what you say that Jesus Christ is Lord. Where social reform comes about, as it often does out of this position, "they accomplish what they did not intend."[60]

Niebuhr believes type one is both necessary and inadequate. The exclusive Christian will not be able to escape the conservation, selection, and conversion of cultural achievements. He will always be tempted to the impossible task of reproducing the culture in which Jesus lived. When the radical Christian's obedience becomes concrete, it will include ideas and rules from the non-Christian culture: "in the government of the withdrawn Christian community, and in the regulation of Christian conduct toward the world outside."[61]

Because the American fundamentalist-evangelical tradition has a certain debt to Calvinism, we must see in passing why the fifth type seems so lacking in the Jesus movement. The sectarian aftermath of Calvinism is more evident in this country than the original genius and vision. Not only the Jesus movement in particular, but Calvinist evangelical Protestantism in general lacks the courage and audacity of that vision of transforming culture. It continues strong in the liberal-mainline Protestant churches, but in ways whose validity evangelicals refuse to recognize. Besides the predominance of sectarian theology, the very culture-bound nature of so much American fundamentalism is also responsible. Especially in the South, but throughout America, there is an evangelical-fundamentalist "culture-Protestantism" as bound to its civilization as nineteenth-century German liberalism with its Christ of culture was. Indeed, a most remarkable potential of the Jesus movement is a separation from that religion of Americanism and an opening up to true radicalism. As more of the Jesus movement comes home to the churches, that may be unlikely, however—unless the best of the Jesus People and a revived free church tradition should together forge a new radical identity. In addition, the Jesus movement is much more liable to an apocalyptic view of a God soon to arrive at the end of history than to a view of history as a grand and dramatic interaction between God and men, as in early Calvinism. The millennial ingredients in fundamentalist American Protestantism which place it theologically if not practically in type one are much present in the Jesus movement as well. Barring, then, a complete coming home of the Jesus movement to fundamentalist Americanism, there may continue an undiluted type one response. Barring some recapturing of the vision of early Calvinism, there certainly will not be a type five response.

Notes to Chapter VI

[1] John A. MacDonald, House of Acts (Coral Stream, Ill.: Creation House, 1970), and Don Williams, Call to the Streets (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972), tell this story.

[2] Dispensationalism divides human history into seven time periods during which humankind are tested in respect to obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God for that period. The Scofield Reference Bible epitomizes this theological position, which, in effect, is a fundamental hermeneutical principle.

[3] Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 208.

[4] Albert Schweitzer, The Quest for the Historical Jesus (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1945), p. 398.

[5] Ibid., p. 401.

[6] Bibel und Kirche, Heft 2/2, Quartal 1972, p. 33.

[7] Time, June 21, 1971.

[8] Christian Century, June 23, 1971.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Compare this concern with the remarks of Claude Welch, Dean and President of the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, to the American Academy of Religion: "Some inadequate and even dangerous notions about the teaching of religion have largely been rejected. I am thinking here particularly of the 'zoo' theory, according to which religion can be dealt with only by exhibiting representative members of the various species; likewise the 'confessional principle' or the 'insider theory,' according to which no one except an adherent can legitimately interpret or even understand a religious tradition . . . ." These remarks are found in "Identity Crisis in the Study of Religion," Presidential Report to the American Academy of Religion, in Bulletin of the American Academy of Religion, October 23, 1970, p. 10. One wonders if Welch would appoint a white person to a chair of Black Studies or a male to a chair of Women's Studies.

[11] Jesus is seen as the way back, the Door to the Father's house. In John 10:7-10 Jesus says, "I am the door of the sheep . . . . I am the door; if any one enters by me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture. . . . I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly."

[12] An earlier Jesus Freak, Billy Sunday, surely touches on such a Jesus when he tells the story of his boyhood, and again, another time, the story of his conversion. This is recorded in Karen Gullen, ed., Billy Sunday Speaks (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1970), pp. 207-214. Billy had never seen his father, who had died in the Civil War two months before Billy was born. When his grandmother died he would leave her coffin only when forced to. After the funeral his mother followed his tracks through the snow to the graveyard and found him "lying across her grave, weeping and chilled through with the November winds" (p. 209). When desperate poverty overcame his mother she had to send Billy and his brother to the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Glenwood, Iowa. He climbed into the wagon to go to the railroad station, calling out "Good-by trees, good-by spring," and giving his dog a last hug and kiss. At the depot he slept and his mother prayed and wept. While his mother sobbed, Billy cried from the train, "I don't want to go to the Orphans' Home. Take me back to the farm with you." Billy writes: "Shall I ever forget the home of my childhood? Yes, when the flowers forget the sun that kissed and warmed them. Yes; when the mountain peaks are incinerated into ashes. Yes; when love dies out in the human heart. Yes; when the desert sands grow cold" (p. 211).

Much later, out on a binge with baseball friends in Chicago, he comes upon a Gospel wagon with men and women playing instruments "and singing Gospel hymns that I heard my mother sing in the log cabin out in Iowa. . . . Well, we sat on the curb listening to men and women playing on cornets and trombones and singing Gospel hymns that many of the churches have blue-penciled as being too crude for these so-called enlightened days; but these hymns stir memories that drive folks back to their mother's God and Christ, and, compared with this, semi-jazz, rattle-trap, dishwater music is as useless as a glass eye at a keyhole and will never make a dent in your sin-covered heart" (p. 214). He turned to his friends and said, "Boys, I bid the old life good-by." He went to the mission that night and again and again. "One night I went forward and publicly accepted Christ as my Savior. . . . I have followed Jesus from that day to this very second, like the hound on the trail of the fox, and will continue until he leads me through the pearly gate into the presence of God and it closes on its jeweled hinges" (p. 214).

[13] Cf. Heb. 2:14-18; 4:14-16.

[14] David Wilkerson, Jesus Person Maturity Manual (Glendale, Calif.: G/L Publications, 1971).

[15] Roger Kahn, "The Collapse of S.D.S.," Smiling Through the Apocalypse, ed. Harold Hayes (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), p. 624.

[16] Jacob Brackman, "My Generation," Smiling Through the Apocalypse, ed. Harold Hayes, p. 637.

[17] James Nolan, "Jesus Now: Hogwash and Holy Water," Ramparts 10 (August 1971):26.

[18] Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., One Way (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 31-32.

[19] The issue of the "canon within the canon" seems always present in any religious group, no matter how total its professed submission to all of Scripture. If a Lutheran canon within the canon, for example, is based on Romans, Galatians, and John, the inner canon for CWLF sometimes seems to be the Synoptic Gospels and the epistle of James. On one level this may relate to the fact that the Gospels have Jesus as a central character in a way the Pauline epistles do not. A point to be made about one's Christian "walk" is often made with respect to the life of Jesus rather than to Pauline moral exhortations. It comes more naturally to CWLF women to argue their case on the basis of Jesus' treatment of women than on the basis of Paul's Christological statement in Galatians 3:28. (Of course, some would see the latter compromised by other statements in the Pauline corpus.) On another level, however, this relates to an Anabaptist theology always present in CWLF. The Anabaptist Jesus is the Synoptic Jesus, who meant the Sermon on the Mount to be a "real social ethic," not an "impossible ideal." In The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), John Howard Yoder almost seems to define Jesus as the brother of James, and even Paul is thoroughly de-Lutheranized.

[20] In the issue of Bibel und Kirche (Heft 2/2, Quartal 1972) devoted to "Jesus 1972," Wolfgang Wieland writes (p. 36): "Kennzeichnet sich die Bewegung nicht gerade dadurch, dass Jesus unvermittelt, direkt, gaschichtslos, unkirchlich erfahren wird? Ist sie nicht einseitig der persoenlichen Erfahrung zugewandt, vertritt sie nicht extrem subjektive Positionen? Blickt sie nicht ausschliesslich auf das, was Gott jetzt tut und in Zukunft tun wird, nicht auf das, was er getan hat? Besteht also die Gefahr, dass Religiositaet funktional, beduerfnis-bestimmt wird, diktiert von Lebensangst und Erlebnishunger? Ein solche stark kompensatorische und 'funktionale' Religiositaet verzerrt nicht nur die Realitaet des transzendenten Du, sondern schmilzt auch dahin wie der Schnee in der Fruehlingssonne, sobald das betreffende Beduerfnis verschwindet oder von einer anderen Quelle (beispielsweise Erfolg in Beruf oder Liebe) gestillt wird."

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[21] Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 66.

[22] Ibid., p. 67.

[23] Theodore Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973), p. 348.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Peter Marin, "Children of Yearning: Meditations on the Jesus Movement," Saturday Review, May 6, 1972, p. 63.

[26] Ibid. The direction Peter Marin's life has taken since this article, however, does not suggest that he has internalized this point. Leaving his family to begin an exciting new adventure with another woman seems to be the new truth of his own life.

[27] Ibid.

[28] The notions about the bondage of the will and the objective character of grace still make some modern Lutherans concerned about Billy Graham's constant emphasis on "decisions." Even the name of the magazine of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association is Decision. Yet precisely that word (Entscheidung) runs continually through the German Lutheran existentialism of a Rudolf Bultmann. The difference is that for Bultmann the decision is preeminently ethical: one's character, one's life comes into being in the moments of existential decision. For Jesus People and all heart religionists, it is a personal decision to accept Jesus, which, to be sure, is ultimately expected to be of great ethical consequence.

[29] Cf. Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City: Doubleday, 1955).

[30] Billy Graham, "The Marks of the Jesus Movement," Christianity Today, November 5, 1971, p. 4.

[31] Ray Stedman, Body Life (Glendale, Calif.: G/L Regal Books, 1972).

[32] Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends, p. 408.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Edward Long, A Survey of Christian Ethics (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

[35] Ibid., p. 252.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 253.

[39] Ibid., p. 255.

[40] Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970).

[41] This is quoted on the back cover of the paperback edition.

[42] Reich, p. 318.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., p. 373.

[45] Ibid., p. 376.

[46] Ibid., p. 388.

[47] Ibid.

[48] S. N. Eisenstadt, Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 258.

[49] A. D. Nock, Conversion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 215.

[50] Ibid., p. 218.

[51] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, tr. Olive Wyon from the German edition of 1911 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), II, 461.

[52] Ibid., p. 993.

[53] Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970), p. 7.

[54] Ibid., pp. 28-35.

[55] Ibid., p. 40.

[56] Ibid., p. 41.

[57] H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 5.

[58] Ibid., p. 6.

[59] Ibid., p. 45.

[60] Ibid., p. 67.

[61] Ibid., p. 71.

CHAPTER VII

OUTCOME AND SIGNIFICANCE

On the cover of the last issue of Time in 1969 the editors asked, "Is God coming back to life?" In 1971 the Jesus movement was voted the religious news story of the year. A pastor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church has written that church history in the seventies will be determined not by the Church's response to the ecumenical movement but to the Jesus movement. The religion editor of the Washington Evening Star saw the Jesus movement together with the charismatic renewal as the "most important event since the resurrection."[1] To other observers the Jesus movement now appears to resemble more the comet Kahoutek, preceded by blazing press reports and turning quickly into the fizzle of the century.

In this chapter I attempt answers to the questions: How did it all turn out? Did it make any difference? Did it mean anything? I follow first the trajectory of the spiritual pilgrims met in Chapter II, of CWLF itself, and, incidentally, of the larger Jesus movement. Then I ask about the significance of CWLF and of the Jesus movement.[2] Was it a brilliant mutation, a flash in the pan, a breakthrough in religious and social evolution, an ephemeral theological scent best labeled essence of youth? Did something new happen, or the revitalization of something old? Is there a "new completion?"

Trajectory

Trajectory: The Twelve

Chapter II told the stories of twelve people who came into CWLF. Here I trace the further course of their spiritual voyages, to the end of 1975. The first four stories were told under the heading of "Coming Home." The second four stories fit under the heading "Coming To Find a Place To Be Somebody." The last four were "Coming To Be Authentic."

Susan, the burned-out radical who came home to the Forever Family in Berkeley, became one of the leading women in CWLF. She moved from a tutoring program at Berkeley High School to the founding of the Genesis ministry for people with problems of sexual identity. During that time Susan began reexamining her leftist commitments and began meeting with a Communist Party group whose leader, an old friend from University days she had met by chance at a rally in San Francisco. When this man became involved in a shooting and was charged with murder, Susan saw to it that a steady stream of people from CWLF visited him in prison, appeared at his hearings and trial, raised money for his legal expenses, and corresponded with him after sentencing. By 1974 Susan was excitedly announcing that she had fallen in love with a man and become engaged. She had come to know him by correspondence while he was in prison and he was now out on parole. He said he had terminal cancer and might die in less than a year. Susan said she had no illusions, but was beginning to feel the Lord might heal him.

A few months before, Susan had come to a crisis. Lying awake one night wrestling with God she searched for reasons for her emptiness and malaise. "If I have held anything back, Lord, show me and take that too," she prayed. Susan felt overcome by God's presence. She heard God telling her she was holding back her sexuality. That night Susan vowed that if God would show her a man who loved Him even more than she did, who was a person she could look up to and respect, and who would respect her and take her seriously, she would be willing to consider (heterosexual) marriage.

Without explanation, all the plans collapsed. Later Susan suggested that the man may have been deceiving her all along and that, among other things, he was not terminally ill. Late in 1974 Susan reentered the gay life and began living with a woman. The elders of CWLF began to deal firmly with her. When Susan did not respond, she was excommunicated from CWLF church fellowship to which she had belonged. No one seemed sure whether Susan had "stopped believing," but there was a consensus that her life-style could not be tolerated within the community. A few continued to see Susan, though this was frowned on. Susan did not wish to repent, it seemed. By 1975 almost no one had any contact at all with Susan. By the middle of that year she and her partner moved to Oregon to live on a farm. No one knew whether Susan had renounced her conversion, slipped away from it, or still called herself a Christian. From the viewpoint of the community, it seemed, Susan had gone back to the world. No one had been able to persuade her to come back.

Jerry startled the participants of the Genesis ministry a year after its inception by announcing that he was leaving that ministry and perhaps returning to the gay scene. He did not disbelieve all the things he had been saying and writing; he simply could not master the power to live up to them. He was temporarily or indefinitely separating from CWLF, something he had done less dramatically but quite often in the earlier years of his involvement. He seemed regularly to fall in and out of fellowship during the first two years of CWLF's existence. Jack Sparks had always felt a special burden for Jerry, loved him, befriended him, taken him back repeatedly, defended his right to produce a column in Right On.

While Jerry was admired by a few and his column was thought provocative, he never really achieved status in the group. He opened up to no one—or to a very few. Even in the Genesis ministry he had talked about ideas, not about himself. When CWLF needed advice or a leaflet on the East or drugs or mystical experience, it was to a stable, mature, intellectual brother they turned, never to Jerry. On the streets Jerry was continually seen as gay and approached as such. He was too proud or too ashamed or too much of a loner to open himself up to the love and warmth of the fellowship. Perhaps he had tried and did not find enough. Some began to think that Jerry's writing and his Genesis ministry were all disguised attempts to stay close to the gay scene.

After Susan had been excommunicated, Jerry was confronted. He repented, promised to see his gay friends no more, and said he would regularly counsel with one of the elders. He soon became evasive, and refused to submit to the community. He was given the alternative of excommunication or leaving Berkeley and going for a period to an evangelical community in Ohio, Gracehaven Farm. He refused and was excommunicated in February 1975.

Bryan began to take more and more seriously the classes he had begun taking while continuing his work in the business office. Eventually he began to get involved in ministries apart from CWLF. The power confrontation that occurred in the summer of 1973, and that resulted in the firing of his "boss," left Bryan confused. He became involved in a Presbyterian Church in the area, returned to school and finished, lived with the former business manager for a time, and continued an active Christian life. In a time of stress in CWLF and of changes in Bryan's life and plans, he quietly left and continued what he had begun in CWLF in the Church.

Des lived for several months after his conversion with the brothers at Richmond House. Then he undertook extensive traveling around the country. When he learned from immigration authorities that his visa was expiring, he spent a few weeks saying good-bye to the brothers and sisters of CWLF and returned to Australia. He was given adieu as one whom God had brought to America and to CWLF to save and who was now returning as a native missionary to his own country. CWLF had many friends in Australia whom Des was to look up. Most in the Forever Family, crying during a fond send-off, felt they would not see Des's face again until they met in heaven. Although he has had his "ups and downs" in Australia since returning, Des is in a good place, in the view of Jack Sparks, pursuing a teaching ministry in the House of the New World in Sydney.

By 1974 Mike had still not found a niche in CWLF. He had passed through periods of doubt, wondering whether he should leave Berkeley, and of anticipation, when some new ministry appropriate for him seemed to be developing. He had been very successful as a teacher in Crucible, but seemed unable to accept that. He did not want to be stereotyped as a teacher of Greek and insisted on defining himself as a "pastor-teacher." In the fall of 1973 when CWLF began a visionary but short-lived drive to become a helper and resource group to the churches, Mike was labeled the man who would play the important role in that ministry. He had also become active in the afternoon church group, often preaching and taking a leading role in planning the services. Yet others were exercising more control over that group's direction. He kept looking for a ministry appropriate to his talents and answering his needs and self-identity, but steadily resisting the suggestion to return to the parish ministry. In January 1974 he was offered a half-time position at a Christian Academy, teaching English and Religion to eighth graders. At least that offered some steady financial support. By 1975 Mike accepted a call to a small church in the Bay Area. Though still experiencing some emotional "shakiness," he is reported to be happy in his new ministry.

Arnie remains the alternately somber and good-humored Jew for Jesus. For some time Street Theater was his chief means of expressing himself emotionally and creatively. Eventually he assumed more and more responsibility for the bookkeeping and business affairs of CWLF. His wife graduated from nurses' training and began working full-time. Arnie remained active in the Sunday afternoon fellowship and worked steadily toward some kind of church-community-family concept for CWLF. When one group in CWLF finally structured itself as a church, Arnie became the chief elder, alongside Jack Sparks, the minister.

The changes in the business office and the dismissal of the business manager were not easy for Joyce, but she was ready to move on. When a job description of executive assistant to Jack evolved, Joyce slipped into it. Although she began calling herself by that title, it was not clear that Jack knew how to use an executive assistant or that Joyce really wanted to be one. Increasingly she identified with women's issues, within and outside CWLF. That identity gave her increasing independence, as had the departure of the business manager who had known how to make heavy demands on her and hook into the schoolmarm sense of duty in her nature. She became somewhat of a freelancer, increasing her interests and ministries elsewhere and slowly detaching herself from CWLF. It is not clear, however, that her sense of identity and self-sufficiency have yet carried her to a position of personal strength. She is active in a local church. By 1974 she had pulled out of CWLF and is now working in the public library.

After sitting in his office in the basement of Dwight House several hours a day, week after week, month after month, trying to get a drug hot line going, Barry faded from the scene. When people were

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asked what had happened to him, they simply said they had not seen him in quite a while. Partly the victim of his own grandiosity and personal inadequacy, partly the victim of inattention and insufficient appreciation from the community, Barry faded away—forgotten and apparently unlamented. He is probably still a Christian, somewhere, no doubt still living in his house in the area, perhaps trying somewhere, somehow to be a Christian entrepreneur and anxious to receive positive strokes from some Christian group.

Up until the summer of 1973 David remained a forceful, active leader and change maker in CWLF and the influential and aggressive co-editor of Right On. He increasingly took the newspaper in directions which conflicted with the attitudes and style of two of the more middle-class elders. The open hostility which began to develop among the elders leaked out and began to distress some others in the fellowship. David began to think more and more about a future apart from CWLF. He considered working full-time with his church, returning to school, moving Right On in the direction of an independent, national Christian review. Eventually he accepted a position at a Bible College in Los Angeles. His departure was a bombshell for CWLF. His chief antagonist was dismissed, the co-editor of the paper continued on as the sole editor, and David's only connection to CWLF was as contributing editor to Right On. His charismatic drive and attractiveness were missed. No one replaced him as an important alternative and counterbalance to Jack Sparks's leadership. After teaching for two years at the Bible College, David began full-time study toward his Ph.D. in the area of social ethics.

After working for some time in the business office Elizabeth felt called to Street Theater. She prayed about this, met with people, and was invited to join. During her time in Street Theater, Elizabeth began dating a Christian student at Berkeley. In late 1973 she left Street Theater to go home for several months to care for her sick mother. In the summer of 1974 she returned and was soon married. Her husband was an intern for the ministry and Elizabeth trained as a vocational nurse in order to have a means of support. CWLF, it would seem, was an important developmental stage for Elizabeth. She had never been strongly involved in the structure of CWLF. She had wished for a useful and slightly countercultural life-style as a Christian in Berkeley.

After a strong season in Street Theater, Frank heard God telling him clearly one morning at 3:00 A.M. that he should be CWLF's new business manager. No one could have predicted this. He called Jack Sparks at six o'clock that morning to share the news. Within a few days he was plunging with enthusiasm into his new job. A whole new spirit developed in CWLF. Volunteerism was again encouraged and treasured, financial records were opened up, and the business office became human again. Frank hoped to do this with one hand and plunge into something else with the other, perhaps film making. He also tried to move CWLF in the direction of the churches. He often talked about needing the churches. He became somewhat a manager of events and people, perhaps in the style of his old Campus Crusade training. People were saying it was like the good old days. Suddenly, only a few months later, Frank and his wife announced that they would be leaving Berkeley at Christmas (1973) to return to the South. They wanted to raise a family and seek other ministries. Frank did not seem to be telling the whole story, but he suggested that Berkeley was not a good place to raise their children, that as self-consciously middle-class people they had often felt oppressed by CWLF's aggressively counter-cultural identity and its thoughtless put-down of the middle class. He also lamented CWLF's continued unwillingness to become involved with the churches in the area. As suddenly as he had assumed his new role he left it. Most wished him well and prayed for every blessing for his new ministries to come. A few, especially Jack Sparks, suggested bitterly that he was copping out.

Jack has focused his activities toward a creative ministry in Berkeley, within a conservative Presbyterian perspective. His only involvement with CWLF is as contributing editor of Right On. A circle of fellowship has developed from his own Covenant House, and a worshipping community has evolved from what used to be the CWLF Sunday afternoon group and from others who have been attracted to that fellowship. Jack and others in his group were also able after a year's planning to begin a Christian elementary school in Berkeley. In the summer of 1973 when his landlord sold the house they were living in, Jack and his wife somehow managed to come up with a down payment on another house nearby. Many of the Christians in their circle lived within a few blocks of each other. When CWLF began demanding a primary allegiance from its members and functioned more and more as a church, the old Sunday afternoon group lost some of its members back to CWLF. Many, however, stayed and that group has become one of Jack's primary ministries.

Perhaps Jack feels he has accomplished his original task of theological infiltration of the Jesus movement. CWLF became more theologically aware and more mature, and Jack gradually distanced himself from it and began concentrating more and more on his own developing ministry. He and his family like being in Berkeley and intend to carry out their witness there.

Of the twelve introduced in Chapter II, most seem still to be active Christians. Susan and Jerry left the fellowship by excommunication. It is not known whether they still think of themselves as Christians. Of the four who "came home" to CWLF, none remains. Des is in Australia, Bryan is active in an area church and presumably has reentered the middle class. Susan and Jerry have returned to a gay life-style. Of those who "came to find a place to be somebody," Mike has, not without continuing difficulty, found a niche, Barry is temporarily lost sight of, Joyce is more on her own and may or may not be more self-directed, and Arnie is a fervent leader of the new church to come out of CWLF. Of those who came to be authentic, David may be considered upwardly mobile toward a regular teaching position in a university, Frank has returned to a middle-class Christian ministry, Elizabeth is married, working, a member of an evangelical church, and presumably middle class, and Jack is active in his own Covenant House ministry.

This record is not atypical. There is a dramatic turnover among the most active participants in CWLF about every two years, although several have now been around for three or four years. Only Jack Sparks remains of those who have been active from the beginning.

Trajectory: CWLF

Whatever may be said about the trajectory of CWLF as an institution, it seems clear that during its history since 1969 many brothers and sisters knew joy, fellowship, ministry, and growth. In small and large matters many found victories and new purpose. What happened to them while in Berkeley they will continue to carry with them. For many, internal or personal revolutions began which will work themselves out long after the Jesus movement as a public event has died. Others who touched base with CWLF during those years will have drifted away, untouched, unmoved, or unable to sustain their small conversions in other times and other places.

The trajectory of CWLF followed here is that from the crisis period of 1973 up to 1975. The departure of David and the subsequent resolve to dismiss Larry seemed to signal a time of peace and even new beginnings. The entire fellowship was able to move beyond an impasse in ministry and morale without the violence and upheaval of a bitter purge. Sparks simply reasserted his charismatic authority. Larry in effect pleaded nolo contendere, and was probably glad to be gone.

In the fall of 1973 CWLF began looking for a style and structure that could include maximum participation in decision making, democratic leadership, and the continuing spiritual authority of Jack Sparks. It was a time of new "prayer and planning meetings," of power vacuums and gentle struggles, of trivial and boring exercises in participatory democracy. Occasionally the meetings reached the absurdities of a church Ladies' Aid in advanced stages of atrophy. Meanwhile, crucial decisions tended to get made and operationalized by those with long-term and full-time investment in the group.

At this same time Sparks began meeting with several Jesus movement leaders from around the country who shared concerns about consolidation, institutionalization, and preservation of the gains the movement had made at its peak. No one wanted to be responsible for "a great spiritual burn-out" after the great evangelistic gains of the late sixties and early seventies. At these small meetings papers were presented and plans for the future were laid. Increasingly there was a focus on what it means to be "the people of God" in society and on the direction the early church had taken in the first and second centuries. There evolved emphases on corporate identity, clearly defined leadership, and a community under the rule of God. Particularly, strong and authoritative leadership came into focus, though it was always cushioned with notions of servanthood.

In CWLF itself these meetings which Sparks was attending were viewed with increasing suspicion. Would such a national or regional group of "spiritual fathers" or elders betray the gains CWLF had made on the women's issue? It was one thing to trust Sparks, almost against one's better judgment; it was another to trust a new group of national leaders whom one did not know at all. Sparks began pressing for primary commitment to CWLF among all who were serious about the fellowship. In a special meeting he said, "I know I want CWLF to evolve into a corporate body, even if nobody comes with me." To a direct question, "Does this mean you see yourself as our minister?" Sparks replied, for the first time in public and more directly than ever before, "Yes, I see myself as your pastor."

In December 1973 Sparks read a paper at a special meeting: "Where Are We Going?" He called for the evolution of CWLF into a church, with regular worship, ministry, and primary commitment. Most important, he called for clearly defined leadership. The movement was tightening up for the long haul. A questionnaire was given to everyone in CWLF. It was a request for the volunteering of talents and abilities, preferences about worship, and the naming of those who seemed to have "overseeing gifts" (the word bishop was carefully avoided) and "servant (deacon) gifts." At the end one was requested to answer yes or no to the question of making this emerging "church" a primary commitment. In effect, this was an effort to get everyone in CWLF to make the new "church" the primary community, presumably giving up involvements with other churches or fellowships. The decision to call CWLF a church and gear up by naming overseers and deacons was one decisive answer to the many questions we have seen focused by CWLF's history to that time. It was an answer far from unanimous.

Schism in social movements occurs when there are differential needs among members and leaders (or as a response to co-optation or

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repression). In CWLF there was always a steady trickle of brothers and sisters moving on toward the churches or to other ministries. Others, in early 1974, were reaching the first stages of reluctance about the call to a primary commitment to CWLF as a church. The majority, at that time, were ready and even eager to move in that direction. The evolution seemed to be succeeding because it was meeting majority needs.

The evolution toward church coincided with a faltering of enthusiasm for street and campus evangelism. Whether "survival goals" were already replacing "mission goals," in the language of denominational analysts, was not yet clear. It was true that concerns about nurture and strengthening the community were becoming stronger. Possibly fewer people with the "call" to evangelism were around. Possibly the stage when the true believer strengthens his faith by converting others had passed. Had the first flush of certainty departed or was it that the group no longer needed to prove itself by heavy investment in recruiting? Probably the central fact was the change in the Berkeley situation. That which had called CWLF's original style into being had passed. A new style was appropriate. CWLF has shown a remarkable resiliency as it moved with the times and a willingness to let go of outdated or obsolete ministries—something the instituional church finds very difficult to do. How soon would that become a problem for CWLF as a church?

Sparks was often heard summing up during 1974. "After five years we see a broad fellowship, deep roots in the community, a family that seems to belong here, the feeling that we belong in Berkeley. We're part of what this community is. What we sought within it, a community of believers, has happened." There may be a question about whether that was what they sought. Or, the three original missionaries may have had differing goals. In fact, only Sparks is left.

To balance the dangers of institutionalization CWLF may be able to count on the continuing magic and magnetism of Berkeley. While the explosive days of the Free Speech Movement or the violence and excitement of Peoples' Park are gone, Berkeley remains an exciting place. It is typical that a social movement needs to stay in the context of its first vision to hold onto its charisma—or to appear to be in that same context. If the heavy days of street evangelism and energizing confrontations with radicals are gone, CWLF may be able to re-create those days in other circumstances. But it need not become a reminiscing society. Berkeley still exists. One may say that as long as Berkeley is a fascinating place to be, CWLF will have fascinating potential for its own members and for new recruits.

The ministries of CWLF have continued to evolve since 1973. Right On remains the most viable and well-known ministry, stronger each year but not changing direction since 1973. Greater financial solvency and the cultivation of a wider readership remain pressing goals. No one has yet emerged with enough self-direction and talent to accomplish them, but the editorial position of the paper remains strong. Crucible ended its existence in early 1974, slowly fading away while at the same time allowing widespread belief that such a ministry was in fact happening. By late 1974 the arrival of a new brother in CWLF, with considerable personal maturity and some theological education, was leading to its rebirth. In 1975 regular courses were again being offered. Campus ministry is nearly nonexistent. It seems largely forgotten that this was once thought crucial to CWLF's identity. Genesis has disappeared. The radical crossfire of ideas and personalities had made the ministry increasingly difficult to integrate. The "lapse" of Jerry and Susan into the gay scene was the clearest signal of its end. The Rising Son Ranch passed out of CWLF's hands. It had passed its period of usefulness. The tutoring ministry at Berkeley High School existed for a while longer, but in a different form and with less CWLF involvement.

CWLF's forte had been literature. A strong new movement in that direction was again noticeable in 1974. Two brothers of considerable talent as researchers and writers inaugurated a "spiritual counterfeits project," a kind of countercultural think-tank for evangelicals. Out of their work have come Crucible classes, articles in evangelical magazines, pamphlets, and leaflets, and, beginning in 1975, a carefully orchestrated attempt to prove that Transcendental Meditation (TM) is in fact a religious movement. The court cases being planned would thus make impossible the spread of TM into the public schools and other agencies funded by the government.

Street Theater continued with ever-changing casts, increasing skills, and still unresolved questions about its message and style. Perhaps it was always most meaningful to the actors themselves, though the actors always felt they were connecting with the crowds. The Christian Houses remained examples of convenience, often legitimized as missions. Periodically there were calls for Dwight House to return to its mission station status as a place where street people could crash. Most houses were providing community and accommodations for CWLF staff. When several houses arose in given geographical areas, there was the nucleus for localized churches or Christian networks in a neighborhood.

Perhaps in connection with its structural evolution since 1973 CWLF finally began to take theology seriously. One did not know whether to applaud this as a sign of maturity or lament it as an indicator of creeping bureaucratization. Attempts were made to draw up a statement of faith, perhaps more for expressing minimum requirements than for creative affirmation. As these attempts were made, some of the explosive mines in CWLF's past history and in the histories of its present constituents would begin to go off. A Roman Catholic in the group might seem soft on the inerrancy of Scripture. A devoted Right On staffer would move away from the seeming restrictiveness of Anabaptist thought to what seemed the greater inclusiveness of the Calvinist vision. Mostly the theological work seemed to be attempts to shore up the body, to get things in order for the period of the church—the advice of the Pastoral Epistles in the New Testament, advice often associated with what New Testament scholars have dubbed "early catholicism." Indeed, now and then Arnie, the chief elder, or others could be seen in the library of the Graduate Theological Union poring over the writings of the early church fathers. For a while much of the old flexibility remained, and there were those who could expend themselves in nothing more than thank-you-Jesus and praise-the-Lord. By 1975, however, there was more and more emphasis on appropriate contours for the body, on properly apointed (by God?) and authoritative ministries, on "church discipline," even on properly administered sacraments. It was a long way from the days when Sparks, almost thoughtlessly, brought down a bottle of Spañada and passed it around while some other brother was making motions to toss the remaining bread back to the center of the room.

By the beginnings of 1975 CWLF seemed both strong and ripe for major changes, or even schism. This dichotomy appeared in several areas: (1) Sparks's charisma remained. He works hard, he loves the people, he calls Berkeley his home, he does whatever work needs to be done. This enabled him to make increasingly strong claims to authority and convince many of the brothers and sisters that he could be trusted. At the same time, whatever latent paternalism some had seen seemed more obvious and perhaps less benevolent. Some of the most talented in CWLF were less and less willing to go along with the tightening of the ship. (2) Somewhat like the Mormons, CWLF had been able in the past to attract a stream of creative and hard-working people willing to give some years of their life to a certain kind of ministry. Sparks's increasing focus on the "church" as CWLF's key ministry and reason for being may be less attractive, except to some already in Berkeley, than the countercultural ministries which first brought interest and attention to CWLF. Yet, so far, those ministries continue to flourish, though always changing. (3) CWLF remained zealous to cultivate its friendships and financial support through its newsletters,prayer letters, and public tours. While the organization was never financially secure, contributions continued to flow in. But it was often the sense of CWLF carrying on a ministry in the name of other concerned Christians that kept the financial support coming. First Presbyterian Church in Berkeley often looked at CWLF as its "street arm," though CWLF never would have accepted that designation. There has always been the distinction in missionary or evangelistic circles between those who go and do and those who stay and pay, the latter living vicariously through the former. CWLF consciously cultivated this sense among its supporters. Letters from supporters, in turn, often mentioned their enthusiasm for ministries in Berkeley that they themselves could not perform or that any of the churches were unlikely to perform. Will such support continue if CWLF, or part of it, continues its evolution toward being a church?

Split Trajectories: The Church of the New Covenant vs. CWLF

In 1975 the church within CWLF had continued to grow and now sought to "come out" as the true identity of CWLF, the true goal toward which it had been growing all along, the real meaning of its existence in Berkeley. The church had taken a name, Redeemer King, and two elders had emerged as the church's "pastors": Jack Sparks and Arnie (the person of that name in Chapter II). In the face of continued resistance by some within the church and by several key leaders in CWLF who had never made themselves a part of the church, Jack and Arnie issued a letter to the entire CWLF community that was to be the occasion of the most fundamental split in the trajectory of CWLF since 1969. This occurred in July 1975.

The letter suggests a certain "salvation history" approach as it looks back on the development of CWLF as a church since December 1973. The community is now rooted in Berkeley, there is joy in the fellowship and worship, marriages have occurred, families have emerged, and more and more are thinking of a permanent commitment within this community. (Permanence was never in the past a CWLF kind of word.) The letter looks back over the great struggles necessary to preserve the community and then quickly moves on to the point:

> This has also been a time during which our founding father (our apostle), raised up by God over six years ago to found CWLF, was led by God to a spiritual peer group. [This is a reference to the other "apostles" who have risen out of other groups and with whom Sparks has been meeting and making plans for local churches and regional affiliations.] During most of those years Jack Sparks was for the most part alone in seeking realization of the vision of establishing a truly Christian community in Berkeley. Though at times there were some who shared to a degree this vision, in no one but he did the vision burn as a passion. As CWLF has developed there have been some within her who not only did not share this vision but worked against it. Some were leaders within the ministry. They held that CWLF should exist as a "loose coalition of creative ministries." Though there were many battles, God's will that we be a community prevailed. One by one those who did not share this vision have left. Now, because of the mercy of God, Jack is not alone. Being committed and submitted to an apostolic band [another reference to the other apostles with whom Jack had been meeting], he now has peers of like mind across the nation, intent upon establishing churches similar to our own.

But, the letter continues, a basic issue remains. The matter must be resolved or "the elders will be ineffectual and driven to quit."

It is the problem of church polity, who will exercise authority. The letter rejects any congregational or presbyterian polity. Sparks and Arnie insist on an episcopal form. There are two arguments for this, one from CWLF history and one from early church history. (The first, of course, begs the question.) The first traces what now seems to be seen as "sacred history":

> At the very inception of the church in December 1973 Jack read to the brothers and sisters two papers: "The Christian Ecclesia: A Community Governed by God" and "Where We Are Going." These papers were in effect a declaration of the fact that CWLF was to be a church. The declaration was made by Jack Sparks because he as the founding father of CWLF was the one God had given the vision and authority to found the church, and that authority was not based upon a vote of CWLF people. It was given by God to Jack and he took that action in concord with the will of God. Those within CWLF who desired to be members of the church became members, and those who didn't, didn't, and eventually left. There was no debate as to whether or not we should be a church. Jack, as God's instrument, had established it. The point is that it was not a congregational decision, nor was it subject to congregational approval.

The second argument insists that this episcopal form is "orthodox Christian government" because it "most closely represents that which existed in the early church." There follow quotations from Clement, Ignatius, and Cyprian, three of the fathers of the early church whose statements are most supportive of episcopal polity. Reference is made to "an apostolic band—Jack's peer group," who have been raised up by God to found and nurture various new Christian communities.[3]

The letter assures everyone in CWLF that their comments and beliefs are solicited, but "the matter of church government is not to be discussed publicly at the congregation or any other meeting." This was presumably intended to thwart any caucuses by the opposition. They happened anyway. Further, the letter announced that although the worship committee of the church had been doing a good job, "it is time for the elders to take personal charge of worship and teaching in the church meeting in order to give authoritative teaching and lend authoritative leadership to the worship. . . . The elders will also chair the CWLF staff meetings for now in order to give authoritative direction and vision." Those who disagree are asked to leave the church rather than stay and dissent.

The delivery of this letter to the CWLF community may be compared to Nixon's Saturday Night Massacre. Apparently Jack had no idea of the storm of protest that would instantly arise. Some of his most loyal supporters through the years were forced to a fundamental parting of the ways. Within weeks there appeared another letter, "An Explanation from Jack and Arnie." The second letter took nothing back. But it began:

> Jack and Arnie recognize that there is a great chasm between us and some of the CWLF people. In our letter we assumed that our view of authority was generally understood in the church. It is now clear that was not true.

The letter attempted to clarify Jack's relation to the apostolic band and to assure the community that Jack and Arnie were in no way unwilling "to hear what God would say to us through His people or just what people would have to say whether they thought it was from God or not." The role of the apostolic band was not to formulate new doctrine but "to steward those orthodox and catholic doctrines handed down to us by scripture and the church councils." Jack and Arnie will listen carefully and not assume they "possess the totality of what the Holy Spirit gives to the church." But none of this means "that matters in the church are to be decided by democratic vote."

Then, in a single paragraph, one of the most important events in the history of CWLF was announced, a clear suggestion as to the strength and vehemence of the community's response to the first letter:

> We are resigning from CWLF staff, effective immediately, asking only that we be allowed 60 days to get our support completely transferred. This must be understood as a friendly act, and one which is designed to protect the unity of CWLF. We stand behind its ministry and do not wish to disturb its ability to function. As a matter of fact, members of the church will not only be allowed to work in CWLF, but will be encouraged in their work. We hope to act jointly with CWLF in some of its ventures. No relationships between people need to be broken. We must all remain friends and neighbors, brothers and sisters. This shift simply frees me in accord with the instructions of my brothers in the apostolic band and makes for a cleaner relationship between the church and CWLF.

For reasons not explained, the Nicene Creed and the Christological formulae of the Council of Chalcedon were appended to this second letter.

What went on in the community after the delivery of the first letter and why did it occasion Sparks's resignation from CWLF in the second letter? From February to May 1975, a series of meetings had been held by the band of apostles to which members of the individual churches were invited. Already in these meetings several people from CWLF became very suspicious of the authority being exercised by these apostles. In one meeting one of the apostles was speaking on the Christology of Origen, one of the early church fathers in the East. When some of his statements were challenged by the director of Crucible, the apostle became very defensive and rebuked the challenger. The apostles seemed to feel they were delivering the truth, and some of the listeners seemed to feel that they were simply at a Seminar. Word spread in Berkeley that CWLF people were being put down by some of the apostles. The apostles seemed to demand that only supportive questions could be asked. Direct challenges should only be made privately, never in public meetings.

By the time Sparks's first letter was distributed (without any preparation for it), it had become clear that many in CWLF held basically different presuppositions from those of Sparks about the exercise of authority and the direction in which the church should be moving. Sparks had evolved in his understanding toward a basically changed conception of his role. He really expected obedience and was not getting it.

During this time the church had continued to grow more bold in the issues members were willing to address and the risks they were willing to take as a burgeoning and experimental community. Shortly before Sparks's first letter appeared, for example, a woman who was leading the worship was discussing God's motherliness. As she spoke one of the men who had all along been least willing to accept the gains of women in the community passed her a note: "Correct your mistake or don't go on with Holy Communion." The note was read aloud. Some women cried, many of the men were not helpful. The woman speaker said the group seemed divided and should not go on. Sparks rose to make a statement and the service did go on. Later Sparks and Arnie dealt with the disruptive man and insisted he apologize; the woman was to make a statement that she was not trying to change the doctrine of the Trinity. Shortly everything blew up, and neither the apology nor the statement was made. Such an incident convinced Sparks that the community was getting out of control.

When the letter hit the fellowship, everyone was taken aback. Even some of Sparks's most loyal supporters were hurt at the unilateral abolition of the worship committee. One who lost little time "going with Sparks" when the split came was still able to muse with some wonder: "From Jesus Freak to Catholic!"

At the end of July a ten-page response to Sparks appeared: "Why we must leave the church which Jack and Arnie are caring for: an explanation." Though this paper was written by one person, the director of Crucible, many soon allied themselves with this response. The paper professes affection for Jack and Arnie and notes that spiritual authority in general is not the issue. Then the chief issues are discussed: the structure, kind, source, and outworkings of authority; the Scriptural basis and relation to Scripture; the question of the Church as Mediator; church history and its application; and appropriate responses to the twentieth-century sociocultural situation. The paper asserts the presence of authority from God within the entire Christian community and refuses to recognize any uniquely authoritative role between that community and God, rejecting both the apostles as fathers and the Church as mother. Authority flows from God to the Christian community. There is grave concern over threats of excommunication to those who will not submit to the apostles and

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over any administration of the sacraments restricted to the authority of the apostles. There is a strong rejection of the claims and pretensions of the apostolic band and particular concern that the Scriptures are somehow being underplayed. The paper suggests five reasons why the early church developed the polity it did and argues that none of these reasons exists today. The paper concludes with a call for a Christian community characterized by the following:

(1) congregations can function independently according to the leading of the Spirit rather than as ultimately guided in uniformity by a band of men;

(2) the Bible only is clearly held up as the final rule for faith and practice, not its interpretation by a small group of wise, but fallible men;

(3) spiritual authority is recognized as being from God in the elders, in the whole congregation, and in every individual according to his/her gifts, not ultimately only in the apostle and by delegation in the elders;

(4) elders and congregation are mutually submissive, not one over or under the other;

(5) spiritual authority works more on the analogy of husband and wife rather than parent and child; and

(6) individual freedom in thought and experience and corporate identity are seen as mutually dependent without priority.

One of the most interesting points made in the response to Sparks is the rejection of the "fatherly" character of the new authority being imposed. The author argues:

> The analogy is repeatedly given of a Father (the apostle) and his children (the congregation). While that may be an appropriate relationship for a young Christian and the mature Christian who is discipling him/her, it is not appropriate across the board for a church and its elders or "apostle." The analogy of husband and wife seems more appropriate, if not perfect, with its concept of

> mutual submission, headship, and accountability. Jesus said to call no man "Father," except God only. And even Christ calls the Church His bride, not His child.

In view of the comments made early on in this study about the paternalistic leadership which necessarily characterized CWLF at the beginning (the nurturing of the "babes in the Lord" period) and which has always characterized Sparks's style, this now institutionalized fatherliness may come as no surprise. Given the need felt by Sparks and others in the apostolic band to consolidate and shore up their respective communities, it apparently seemed natural and appropriate to extend, structure, and make mandatory the kind of leadership and authority with which they had come to feel most comfortable. Obviously they could have looked for other models. They apparently did not. And they chose the practice of the early church as theological legitimation for the approach they decided upon. Perhaps such a leadership role was what Sparks longed for all along, even in CWLF's "loosest" period of leadership and authority. Certainly the charismatic leader, who really grows used to the trusting acclamation he draws out of people, may find it obvious to continue such leadership, only with a heavier hand, when the long haul looms ahead. Now, in a sense, the charismatic acclamation, which arose so spontaneously in early days, is demanded as "what God wants." And the only assurance given to the "children," perfectly appropriate assurance for the charismatic leader, is "trust me." Whether the grandiosity of "apostolic band" arose out of some collective effervescence from the group of seven as they met together for over a year, it is not possible to say.

The uproar that followed the letter both surprised Sparks and convinced him to follow the advice the apostolic band had been giving him for several months already: resign from CWLF, devote your full attention to your role as apostle in the emerging churches. It is possible that this advice stemmed in part from an apostolic conviction that many in Berkeley would never become properly submissive. After the resignation the only question remaining was, Who would go with Jack Sparks?

Sparks seemed to want people to make their decision on the basis of whether they trusted him or not. This is typical of the charismatic leader. For him that is the only issue. He does not seem to consider that the followers may wish to reject his position in principle or that they should have the right to do so. His fatherly benevolence should be welcomed. Only a simple trust in his good intentions or a believing willingness to see his leadership and authority as divinely ordained is called for.

Within a month after the second letter the lines were clearly drawn. Nearly everyone had made up his mind whether to "go with Jack" or stay with CWLF. CWLF became the Berkeley Christian Coalition. The group which had been founded in the spring and summer of 1969 was by the fall of 1975 divided into two groups, each going its own way. The name Christian World Liberation Front was no more. In what directions have the two groups traveled since the split?

The Berkeley Christian Coalition organized itself around five ministries: Right On, Crucible, Spiritual Counterfeits Project, Street

Theater, and Housing. In addition, a Service Committee drew volunteers from the total membership and provided office and other support for the five ministries. A council of six, including the head of each of these ministries and the head of the Service Committee, directs the Coalition. There are staff meetings once a week. There is also a Director of the Coalition, chosen from among the council. Most decisions are reached by consensus rather than by voting.

A House Church has also emerged out of the Coalition, though it, of course, is not structured in any way similar to the church which Sparks heads. One of the members of the council explains that so much closeness and mutual support developed during the time of the crisis that members of the Coalition "could not see disbanding as a community and going to separate churches. It came to a point that we were willing to admit we were a church." The House Church has been drawing about forty or fifty people to its services each week. Different people lead the worship each time. Some who belong are not affiliated with the Coalition except as friends and supporters. The Church has a joint Sunday School program with that of another House Church in Berkeley, the one associated more clearly with a Reformed tradition theologically and connected to the ministry of one of the men introduced in Chapter II (Jack). The children of members of the Coalition also go to the Christian School that emerged in Berkeley in 1974.

The wounds have not yet healed from the split, particularly since members of the Coalition see very little of members of Sparks's church. There is both an underlying tension and "a lot of caring" for each other. A member of the Coalition council says the Coalition has never been "more together or better organized." No major financial problems have emerged either. Apparently there has been no failure of nerve, and the Berkeley Christian Coalition is forging ahead, perhaps more streamlined for the tasks they have set for themselves because of the split.

Sparks's church calls itself Redeemer King, and the whole network under the leadership of the apostolic band calls itself the Church of the New Covenant.[4] At this point the apostles are located in Berkeley, in Southern California, Seattle, Ohio, and Tennessee. Local congregations under Jack Sparks's bishopric are in Berkeley, Santa Cruz, and Ukiah, California, and one in Alaska. Deacons and elders have been ordained in each of these places with the laying on of hands and prayer. A major assembly of the seven apostles and all the elders is planned for June 1976 in Ohio.

The plans of the Church of the New Covenant are either visionary or pretentious and grandiose, perhaps both. Sparks sees the new church as a patron of the arts and of scholarship. There is a strong hope "to make scholars in our midst," to found an academy on the West Coast. To such an institution would come young men and women recommended by their local elders. "We know we have to build on others, but we've got to pull things together ourselves; we can't survive just on other people's work," Sparks says. He describes himself as brushing up on his German, two other brothers are working on Latin, and another on Greek. Within the Berkeley group a woman has been assigned to produce a catechism for the church, and a man with some seminary training is studying the doctrine of salvation in the early church fathers, a project to take "several years." Sparks is working on a history of Christian worship and liturgy.

It is thought that eventually all "support" will come from the members of these congregations themselves. There will be much less reliance on solicitation of funding from interested Christians around the country, as still must be the case with the Coalition. Some of the elders will also have jobs, as does Arnie, functioning, in effect, as worker-priests. Of the CWLF ministries, only one went with Sparks, Street Theater. In fact, only the leader of Street Theater and a couple of participants went; the rest stayed with the Coalition. (There are now two Street Theaters.) A ministry like Street Theater, then, may continue to need funding from others. And Sparks seems eager to get back into some kind of publishing, whether a newspaper or journal.

All of the seven apostles originally came out of Campus Crusade for Christ. Like Sparks they had left because they wanted more flexibility or they were disenchanted with Crusade, or they felt a call to something Crusade would not have felt comfortable with. Two of the elders had spent some time with one of the Christian "heresies" to gain prominence concurrently with the Jesus movement. They now believe the church fathers saved them from that. It is interesting that evangelicals who "had the Scripture" all along may have had to turn to the fathers (to "tradition") for guidance and for a more "catholic" understanding of the church. Sparks is now willing to talk about using the Scripture "as interpreted by the Church." Those in the group who are concerned about women's issues are told that although Scripture is authoritative on matters of doctrine and morals, "practice evolves."

Sparks insists that "we are not in any way intending to be exclusive. We intend to interact with other churches and communions. We don't intend to be a little stream off to the side. We want to be in the thick. That's the reason for our careful preparation in many crucial areas." There seems to be a careful rejection of everything associated with sectarianism. "These days we find it easier to talk to Lutherans, Anglicans, and maybe even Methodists [all episcopal or quasi-episcopal church bodies] than to independent Bible churches of the American type. Also to Rome. For two reasons: polity and mainstream." Sparks suggests two reasons for the direction they have gone: experience with people and what they learned from a study of the church fathers. He talks about people "who took our money and food and then gave us the finger." And he thinks of "people who did knuckle under, even though not then forced to, who became fruitful, actual disciples of Christ."

He calls the main critique of his position to come out of the Coalition "not in the mainstream. Many people here say they're right, but in the mainstream 95% would agree with us. The author of that critique doesn't seem even to understand our position and imagines it a new thing." (This relates to Sparks's assumption that the critique is fundamentally Anabaptist.) Sparks was also hurt by a critique of his direction in Christianity Today. One of the editors, Edward Plowman,

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has written brief notices of developments in the Jesus movement for several years. Sparks now responds on the offense: "They don't even know what we're talking about. They don't know what the Church is. They have no concept of the Church." Sparks talks about "knowing fairly thoroughly the extremely Protestant traditions" (meaning sectarian Protestant traditions), and now wants to get back into the mainstream, "get out of our shell." He sums up: "We're after being a force for a return toward catholicity."

Given all this, one could only wonder what is happening to the sacraments within the Church of the New Covenant. Is infant baptism coming into practice? Is there a doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist? An active participant in Redeemer King Church says: "Baptism is still up in the air.[5] But we definitely believe in the Real Presence. After the split we had a definite consecration of the bread and the wine in our worship services." Though there is no institution of private confession as such, members of the church are encouraged to confess privately to an elder or apostle.

Those who went with Sparks seem equally full of enthusiasm as those who stayed with the Coalition. There is excitement about what is seen as a bold new future for the Church of the New Covenant, the excitement associated with a basic turn in direction, a sense of rediscovery of something very old and precious. There is also the calm assurance that they have done the right thing. Their needs are being met, and they feel strong and secure in this community. Arnie, the Jew for Jesus, has been one of the midwives at the birth of the kind of community he has been longing for since coming to Berkeley, indeed since his conversion in New York. It seems to be a community he has come home to. One of the women who has been an outspoken leader in CWLF, particularly on women's issues, surprised many who went with the Coalition when she "stayed with Jack." She has said: "It's borne such good fruit in my own life when I have submitted to Jack that I really have no fears." Apparently many continue to respond to a charismatic leadership which has bloomed (atrophied?) into careful structures of authority for similar reasons. How many are or will be drawn because of the catholicity or ancient character of such structures remains to be seen.

Trajectory: The Jesus Movement

The Jesus movement is not simply CWLF writ large. Nevertheless, some general comments about its trajectory are in order here. The question of the movement's future may already seem to be answered by the lack of media attention to it since 1973. Unfortunately, the brief history of any social movement seems inordinately tied to media interest and loss of interest. The student movement of the sixties knew well the meaning of "the whole world is watching" and its media events capitalized on this. But the reality and significance of a movement, certainly for many individuals involved, will go beyond what makes news. What is newsworthy is often even beside the point. While not a few Jesus leaders groomed themselves as media stars, many others preferred to perform their act without fanfare.

It is still true, however, that the actual trajectory of the Jesus movement could not but be disappointing in view of how high the public had seen the media raise the guns. Deprived for so long of old-time religious hooplah, the media gave a 21-gun salute when they finally thought they saw something happening. If such a salute eventually disappointed the public with something short of a national mobilization of God's army, it lent to Jesus groups themselves a tremendous air of excitement. The media seemed to make the Jesus movement a social fact, with the inherent ability of such a fact to generate collective effervescence. Small groups of Jesus People felt they were really onto something, into the midst of something. In the joy of their own conversions, every new report and especially every warm body blowing into Berkeley praising the Lord was a confirming experience. "Their sound went out to the whole land," as the Psalm said. Especially among the less mature there seemed almost a bandwagon rush to join classmates at the altar. Be the first one on your block to find Jesus. Not all of these "Jesus boppers" lost their first love, however. Some remained in their new faith and continue to practice it.

In other respects, the media's role was not a mixed blessing; it was no blessing at all. A Christian Century editorial lamented how fortunate these Jesus People would be if they had appeared pre-media. If they really had something, they could have hidden in a hollow for a generation or more to mature, to try out their responses, to practice their vision. As it was, their stagestruck, first-act rehearsals came before all the world to see. Public adulation and criticism were too much for many to cope with. And discipleship was hard to cover with a picture in Look.

With the media came the camp followers who saw new gold at the top of Jacob's ladder. Adulation turned easily to commercial co-optation. The Jesus movement would have to work very hard to avoid looking like another theatrical pitch, another youthful craze complete with bumper stickers, T-shirts, and jingles.

When the media eventually moved on, it would look like the Jesus movement had evaporated. A new law was born in the sixties. If an event happens which the media do not see or report, it did not happen. A report in Time let everyone know the movement had not quite evaporated. An article entitled "The Jesus Evolution" reported that the Jesus movement "unlike aspects of the youth counter culture, has survived the fad phase and is settling down for the long haul."[6] Many Jesus papers were still in existence and widely circulated; many Jesus communes were hanging on. Jesus alumni were in Europe, in school, in rural communes, in families, in churches, and in new ministries. Jesus People abroad were already talking about learning from the mistakes made in America. Given the role of the media and the impossible trajectory they set, and given the nature of the Jesus movement itself, what could its future possibly be?

The Future as Revival

Even for those who came through as changed people, those who got saved and stayed saved, revivals survive only as a peak experience. Such high-water marks are not to be underestimated.[7] But time passes, the Spirit moves on, situations change, and what we saw big in the late sixties and early seventies we may not now see at all. It is no longer shocking or exhilarating merely to say Jesus Christ into a microphone. The times have disconnected the loudspeakers. There also has already occurred the beginnings of reentry into the "system." Jesus People have become Christian, joined churches, begun families.

Those who survived the revival saved, evangelists and converts, know well the necessity to move ahead, consolidate, nurture. It is the constant theme of the Billy Graham crusades. Jesus leaders too have an evangelized generation on their consciences and are concerned it is not subsequently lost. The revival can't always exist as it was. Revivals, however, were exciting. Nurturing institutions generally are not. At least they don't make news. Of course, for some this historical problem does not exist. Jesus may be back before breakfast. We can go on this way.

But revivalism being what it is, the future as revival must lead to one of two alternatives, or to failure and dissipation. We look first at:

The Future in the Churches

The Church's own future has changed because of the impact of the Jesus movement revival. Does the Jesus movement itself have a future to be worked out in the churches? Most of the friendly books on the Jesus movement have been written by people somewhere in the churchly establishment—pastors, youth directors, editors of Christian magazines, teachers in Christian colleges. They typically conclude with an exhortation or a warning: Come home to the Church. Enroth, Erickson, and Peters encourage Jesus People to "come together with church Christians."[8] "The future of the revolution is in the company of the church."[9] The alternatives for spontaneous social movements, they warn, are institutionalization or dissipation. They see no future in permanent alienation from the church. Institutionalization in the church, though full of problems, is still the only real choice. The church "is still the main bearer of the tradition of the historic Christian faith that links not only believing men in various parts of the world but believing men in various ages of history, forming the substance of the Body of Christ."[10]

It is unlikely that the churches will shut themselves off from the influx of those Jesus People eager to come in. An institution up against the wall is more likely to rejoice than ask questions. A few four-square fundamentalist churches have been able to see the Jesus movement as the antichrist; many liberal churches will never see any Jesus People, for many years at least. Those churches which do will find ways to live with occasional adolescent arrogance, the counter-revelations Jesus People sometimes have access to, etc. The Jesus People have also grown, and it is not uncommon to hear them discussing how best to be a good witness in the straight churches.

Lutheran Youth Alive may be the best example of a group which is simply a segment of the Jesus movement enchurched. While this pan-Lutheran movement makes some Lutheran pastors wince, the participants themselves are constantly indoctrinated on how to be a help, not a hindrance, to their pastors, on effective humble loving witness in their home congregations, etc. They draw more young people than other Lutheran youth programs have seen in decades, and they do it across the lines of the three Lutheran bodies without even thinking about it. They are churchly, but vibrantly evangelical and turned on to Jesus. Conspicuously lacking are most of the criticisms of American society and the fertile potential of alienation from most of what America and American Christianity is. Lutheran Youth Alive Jesus People, however, probably never had it. They are more Jesus boppers and longtime fervent church Christians than scarred and alienated counterculture people suddenly burning with a new Christian life. Nevertheless, Lutheran youth ministries will not be the same for awhile because of this organization highly flavored by the Jesus movement. Perhaps such an organization saves part of a generation of Lutheran young people for the Church, just as the Jesus movement at large may have performed a similar service for some other Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians.

In many cases the churches will simply absorb Jesus People. Though the body will be stronger for this intravenous solution, the solution itself will lose visibility. These will be the strong church members of the future who will have cut their eyeteeth in the Jesus movement—before joining or rejoining the system. Many of them will never have been out of the system. The Jesus movement will have been a valuable conforming experience and replenisher along their ways, perhaps at a time of leanness or sagging churchmanship.

The visibility, whatever it may be, depends also on what kind of church the Jesus person joins. Some fundamentalist and evangelical churches might be unable to recognize his spiritual thrusts as different at all, though life-style features might be noticeable. In the non-evangelical churches, however, his most passionate concerns will appear refreshing, challenging, quaint, threatening, or immature.

At the media height of the Jesus movement it was common for those Jesus People who went to churches to appear rather conspicuously as Jesus People. That is much less common now. The peak of the Jesus movement is well over. Some diffusion of that spirituality has occurred. The Jesus person is less different and the churches more open.

Many Jesus groups, of course, began as churches—whether Assembly of God, Calvary chapels, etc. They were revivals that originated in a church and became the chief ministry of that church. The Jesus movement was an urbanizing and updating of an old form of Protestant deviant ministry. Such groups fall naturally to the resources of a long tradition of a particular kind of churchmanship. They are among the strongest, longest lasting, and most flourishing of any groups associated with the Jesus movement. Their future looks bright, though the Jesus movement label as such as already begun slowly to disappear because it is no longer prominent in the national consciousness. These groups will remain as a frontier-rural Pentecostalism revived for a new era and often in an urban setting.

The Future as Alternative Church

Isolated rural communes, networks of communes in fellowship, churchly urban ministries are also the Jesus movement's future. It is a future much more in doubt. Intentional and utopian communities have a rich religious and secular tradition in America. At various times they rose to encapsule the spirit of a time, they fired the imagination, they occasioned dreams and energy, and they wilted. The religious communes of the last ten years have a better record for longevity than the secular ones, but it is still not promising. The strongest Jesus communes are those with the most authoritarian leadership. Generally, this leadership has matured considerably, is not capricious, and has a serious moral commitment to its people. The structure is crucial for the commune's economic well-being. The future of such communes may depend on whether society will continue to cough up young people in desperate need of such leadership and whether such groups are sufficiently in the eye and imagination to attract such people. An alternative scenario would be a mellowing of such communes into something much closer to democratic communal arrangements. While their secular counterparts are often unambiguous in espousing anarchy as the only true form of communal government, their dissolution and disaster rates do not strongly recommend that course. A more democratic form might also deal with the women's issue as well, very prominent in CWLF, very unprominent in most rural Jesus communes.[11] That could either strengthen or blow apart the commune.

While several such Jesus communes are presently strong and increasingly economically self-sufficient, always a crucial issue, the lessons of history are against them. Few if any have the maturity and commitment and ethnic unity that have kept such groups as the Bruderhof and the Hutterites alive for generations.

Yet the future we have seen one part of CWLF move toward suggests that the future as alternative church need not take the form of a Chrisitan communalism. While the record of communalism is not and never has been promising, the term "network" has come into use since the sixties to describe a remarkably promising means by which individuals and groups around the country stay in touch with each other and with certain sets of attitudes, goals, life-styles, structures, and support mechanisms. In short, the network promises to deliver some of the legacy of the sixties to the seventies and beyond. Certainly the Church of the New Covenant, led by the apostolic band, is not merely a network, though it clearly started out as such. Whatever it now is, or is becoming, it will probably suggest a possible future as alternative church to other remnants of the Jesus movement still looking for a future.

Significance

Researchers who look at the sixties and inquire into their legacy and significance often ask: Was this a watershed period? Did basic shifts in consciousness occur? What was new in what happened? This study is part of a larger effort to study "new religious consciousness." The new religious consciousness project of which this study is a part focuses on such questions as the following: What is it about new movements, new states of consciousness that has been attracting the young? What is the alternative the group seems to offer? What are the prospects for such an alternative? In addition, I was interested in Ernst Troeltsch's question about the "new completion" of the Gospel each age and group is called to make. Specifically, did CWLF or the Jesus movement represent a revitalized intentionalist position in social ethics and what would that mean if it did? In what follows I suggest that CWLF (and the Jesus movement more generally) originated with or participated in several "news" associated with the counter-culture of the sixties. I also argue that CWLF evolved from these starting points and moved on in its own directions, arriving at its own "news" and taking on a significance of its own.

The New Reformation

Paul Goodman thought he saw a new reformation among the young of the sixties. Central to the origins of this reformation is the "Lutheran concept" of alienation: "God has turned his face away, things have no meaning, I am estranged in the world."[12] The young are in a religious crisis. They no longer have faith in science. Their total alienation expresses itself in no longer being able to believe there is a "nature of things." Out of unrest, fantasy, and reckless action comes religious innovation. Revolutionary activism is not first a program but a way of living. Its purpose is to have a movement and form a community. All mere works are corrupted and a new faith is waiting to take their place. The young turned inventively to religion in an effort to break through to meaning. Loud music is sacramental; hallucinogens are not for an opiate paradise but for tuning in to the cosmos. The close presence of other human beings, as at Woodstock, are central to the new sacraments. This religion, which Goodman thinks constitutes the strength of the generation of the sixties, this metaphysical vitality which keeps pouring out—comes from a large availability of psychic energy with little practical use.

> The social environment is dehumanized. It discourages romantic love and lasting friendship. They are desperately bored because the world does not promise any fulfillment. Their knowledge gives no intellectual or poetic satisfaction. In this impasse, we can expect a ferment of new religion.[13]

Goodman sees a situation similar to that of 1510 when Luther went to Rome. There is everywhere protest, revaluation, attack on the Establishment. He thinks the bloated universities have produced the biggest collection of monks since the time of Henry VIII. Most of the mandarinism is hocus pocus. The various movements among the young then look like the characteristic protestant sects, intensely self-conscious. There are Free University Congregationalists, nature-loving Adamites trying to naturalize Sausalito, Heads who are like Pentecostals, university-trashing iconoclasts, student-powered Anabaptists, and so on. Goodman concludes:

> The young are hotly metaphysical but alas, boringly so, because they don't know much, have no language to express their intuitions, and repeat every old fallacy. If the chaplains would stop looking in the conventional places where God is dead, and would explore the actualities where perhaps He is alive they might learn something and have something to teach.[14]

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The New Spirituality and Signals of Transcendence

Out of the matrix Goodman was looking at came a new spirituality, a spirituality that also cradled the birth of the Jesus movement. The return of the supernatural, the transcending of the era in which anything spiritual was gauche, the demand for authentic experience, the rejection of Enlightenment-defined reality, the accusations of false consciousness against "modern" man were all elements in a new mood among many of the young. For those who would become Jesus People, this became what the ancients called a *preparatio evangelii*, a preparation for the Gospel. Not only was the brush cleared for religious, nonrational experience, but such experience came as a striking alternative, a fresh and deviant response to the false reality of the culture. It was "in" to be spiritual, to feel spiritual realities and talk about them. All those who were experiencing altered states of consciousness or exploring their deeper human potential were not calling it "spiritual," but spiritual came to describe all those dimensions of human psyche and human reality which had been neglected, objectified, or declared nonexistent, unimportant, or unmeasurable. All the flowering assertions of the nonempirical came to be called spiritual.

While the debate about whether God talk was still possible was heating up cold theologians, warm new prayer lives and spiritual encounters were capturing public attention. The generation which had demythologized the New Testament to make it safe for "modern man" was bypassed by a generation of nonrationalists returning to the Biblical minefields without fear. Others looked to anthropologists or historians of religion to discover people dealing with "real spirituality," or they made their own journeys to the East or bought the instant access of drugs, the new grace. Thus the Jesus movement appeared in the midst of a larger "new" whose time had come.

At its best, meaning when it was least faddish, the new spirituality began to signal new awakenings to the transcendent. In a speech on "The Contemporary Meaning of Kamakura Buddhism," Robert Bellah suggested that in the continuous reenactment that is essential for the survival of religion, "there is a tendency for the original meanings to become progressively distorted and the function of the re-enactment to become magical, social, or even political rather than to produce an apprehension of transcendence."[15] Martin Marty finds the title of his book, The Fire We Can Light, in an old story from the rabbis:

> When the Baal Shem had a difficult task before him, he would go to a certain place in the woods, light a fire and meditate in prayer—and what he had set out to perform was done. When a generation later the Maggid of Meseritz was faced with the same task he would go to the same place in the woods and say: We can no longer light the fire, but we can still speak the prayers—and what he wanted done became reality. Again a generation later Rabbi Moshe Leib of Sassov had to perform this task. And he too went into the woods and said: We can no longer light a fire, nor do we know the secret meditations belonging to the prayer, but we do know the place in the woods to which it all belongs—and that must be sufficient; and sufficient it was. But when another generation had passed and Rabbi Israel of Rishin was called upon to perform the task, he sat down on his golden chair in his castle and said: We cannot light the fire, we cannot speak the prayers, we do not know the place, but we can tell the story of how it was done. And . . . the story which he told had the same effect as the actions of the other three.[16]

Many are not as optimistic as the rabbis, nor have they seen the "same effects" in the last state as they did in the first. Bellah suggests it is the task of religious reformation to "regain the original experience of the trans-historical." A genuine reformation will then involve "the creation of new forms growing out of a new apprehension of religious reality."

If we may dare to assert a very small beginning of such a recovery of the trans-historical within the Jesus movement, it will be seen to include the recovery of a personal relation to God in Jesus Christ, active belief in a system of meaning that is clearly deviant from the standards of society and of much of religion in America, the experience of a community which is somehow an extension and realization of that relationship with the transcendent (the Body of Christ is a former name for that community), a perception of an intentional pilgrimage through a counter-reality (the "world system") and the reassertion of the trans-historical and the eschatological. Unfortunately, the hot metaphysics surrounded by ignorance—in Goodman's phrase—present in much of the Jesus movement makes this sound like much too pretentious a claim for what might be going on in the Jesus movement.

Nevertheless, there is a lively and uncontrovertible spirit built up completely around a direct experience of Jesus Christ—in spite of, and usually in ignorance of, all the juggling of scholarly technologies and new and old quests for the historical Jesus. Jesus stands at the center of the movement as the prime reality in which Jesus people find themselves and through which they interpret existence and the prime motivator for their lives and futures. This transcendent experience is a kind of "X factor" which instantly binds all Jesus

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People (and many fundamentalists and evangelicals) together. The question is whether new forms will be created which grow directly out of this experience. The record of American fundamentalism is here so dismal that one may despair or doubt the authenticity of the experience or a priori exclude any transcendent experience of Jesus Christ from religious (read ethical-political?) usefulness.

Yet there is a real consciousness that the religious experience must take on flesh, must develop into a social reality, namely, a Christian community. This, if more privatized than what liberals would call for, is the ethical dimension of the religious experience, though the experience is certainly primary. It is the works that cannot be separated from the faith. It is sociology following theology. How far the social demand would be extended, whether to a social ethic, remained to be seen. In CWLF at least there was lip service and sometimes absolute commitment to a social living out of that Christ-reality. Radical Christianity was once again trying to be born—in continuity with the Anabaptists, the Waldensians, the Donatists, and other experiencers of transcendent and eschatological reality of the past. What may have been happening in and around the Jesus movement was the rediscovery and reacquaintance with the eschatological amidst the historicism and acculturation of contemporary Protestantism. If such a rediscovery would not put one in touch with the "whole counsel of God," it remained a discovery overdue. H. Richard Niebuhr wrote that sectarian movements are often right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny.[17] It may be that every new awakening must include strong denials or withdrawals in the midst of its reaffirmations. Not many can begin with wholeness.

Stopping the World at Adolescence

The Jesus movement is the first Christian revival to arise from youth as a new social stratum. The extension of adolescence required by the socioeconomic situation in the United States has produced a new religious market. The new reformation and the new spirituality may be components of a kind of civil religion for the young, a means by which they understand and interpret themselves. If revivals embody the spirit of their times, a successful youth revival did not need to (and perhaps could not) embody "adult" American religion.[18] The question arises whether such youth religion may more usefully be seen as an attempt to stop the world in the midst of a protean counterculture reality structure or as an attempt to institutionalize and indefinitely prolong adolescence.

In an unpublished dissertation,[19] Joseph Damrell has argued that many new religious sects enable their adherents to remain in the youth culture on a more or less permanent basis. The adoption of improvisation as a wide-ranging style and goal allows them to "eschew rational economics, instrumental roles, and participation in adult institutions of family, work, and community."[20] Such groups arise to meet the socially induced requirement that the young find meaning in the prolongation of adolescence. They institutionalize "the normative and ideological means by which young persons can turn the ostensibly transitional period of adolescence and post-adolescence into a long and possibly life-long career." There is great vulnerability to structural collapse, but many are "successfully socialized into a mental mobility that enables them to remain oriented to the youth culture."[21]

In such a view, it would seem, the new religion exists, alongside "dealing," rockbands, etc., as one of the niches where individuals can find permanent shelter from the adult world. If society implies "Search for your identity until it is time for us to tell you what it is," the young may be announcing that they have found their identity and do not intend to report back. Perhaps some of the fifty million people between the ages of fifteen and thirty have opted to create their own world rather than wait for an inheritance which has grown increasingly less attractive anyway.

We have already suggested that "Forever Family" has certain connotations of never having to grow up and move away from home. For some in the Jesus movement this was regressive, a longing for simplicity, fusion, the secure home they never knew. Once they find such a place, they want to "stop the world."[22] That already suggests something different from a mere prolongation of adolescence. It is more the attempt to prolong a peak experience or the circumstances which cradled it. But those circumstances, and the life-style associated with them, may reflect the goals, mind set and world view associated particularly with the counterculture. It is a life-style which cultivates spontaneity and resists rationalization in Weber's sense. A distinctive theology may evolve to justify this position as the one God calls his people to. There is the great boon of theological legitimation for those who cannot or will not become "adult." A conspicuous pride in being countercultural or "not middle class" often characterized the Jesus movement. At least until 1973, it seemed to characterize CWLF. The directions CWLF has taken since that time, however, would seem to belie this interpretation, though we shall return below to look at the meaning of those directions.

There is the question, then, whether this life-style or mind set should be called adolescent. Is being countercultural or refusing to adapt to the dominant world view and value system necessarily "adolescent"? Such a view may too easily allow any ongoing radicalism, any unwillingness to rejoin the Establishment, any commitment to ongoing conflict with society, any refusal to return to equilibrium to be called adolescent. Such labeling may be self-serving to liberal academics and to those in the churchly establishment. Even a prophetic stance may become "a stage through which one goes." Though such a stance is important for the dialectical movement of society into the future, people are expected to move beyond such positions. A conflict model of society may be an alternative to this view.

Surely, however, there is considerable illumination thrown by this theory. And its usefulness is most appropriate for those groups which are clearly "improvisational" in character. It is possible to see CWLF, for example, as simply moving beyond, since 1973, such a characterization—in the direction of institutionalization and, in Weber's sense, rationalization.

Yet stopping the world at the moment of truth, which does seem definitely to characterize CWLF and much of the Jesus movement, still seems to be a practice which should be interpreted as something more than the prolongation of adolescence or the cultivation of spontaneity as a life-style. Any time a given community ties its existence and rationale to a turn inward, away from an ungodly culture, any time a community becomes "intentionalist," it practices what may be called stopping the world. Why do the Amish wear black clothing rather than togas? Their appearance suggests the era in which they first stopped the world. Will some Jesus People be wearing bib overalls and beards twenty years from now as part of their authenticity?

The whole notion of stopping the world is popular in the counterculture. But it seems to have its correspondent in the attempt of many fundamentalists to time-machine themselves back to Bible days and then stop the world at that point. The practice suggests an "unwillingness to go along"—with Vietnam, with the computerizing of students, with the new morality, with Darwin. Those who saw themselves as a new prophetic Christian minority were refusing to go along with what they saw as the nearly total secularization of American culture and the churches. They were in company with religious dissenters and nonconformists of previous eras.

The primary question to be asked those who stop the world would seem to be "Was it a good time to stop the world?" If the sixties, in fact, were full of promise for shifts in consciousness, if they were a time of breakthrough and charismatic mutations and blossoming alternatives, one might argue it was a good time to stop. Though the activism of the sixties is no longer evident, what they were may continue to ferment in the lives of many people, people who only seem to have jumped back on the merry-go-round. One can always, as on a TV game show, wait for something better to come along, but those who stopped to embrace the new reformation and the new spirituality and its signals of transcendence may have chosen a promising time to depart from the direction the world was moving.

The New Community: The Church of the New Covenant

The increasing fragmentation of American life, the advanced state of urban decay, "the pursuit of loneliness," the widespread failure of such institutions as family and school left thousands of young people lonely, searching, desperate. Many looked for what Roszak has called visionary sociology or for utopian communities or for communication and intimacy with each other. The urban and rural communes which began to arise were attempts to work out visions of something better.

One of CWLF's most alluring attractions was what looked like a community of love and caring, instant brothers and sisters, ready acceptance into the Forever Family. It was a family unlike what many had known at home or at school or in the churches. For some it was a last-chance therapeutic community in which their disintegrating psyches found healing. For some it was a chance for the intimacy and support they had never found in the churches. For some it was a chance to try out dreams of radical Christianity. It is interesting that this new communalism occurred at the very time when many of those in the longest continuous religious communalism in the West, the Roman Catholic religious orders, were rushing out to the secular city.

In fact, the Jesus movement reestablished community as a "mark of the Church." The small group movement and the encounter culture had already begun moving some churches in that direction. Liberal Protestants, in particular, were focusing on intimacy, small groups, and community, but it was not specifically a worshipping Christian community they were talking about. CWLF, as other Jesus movements, seemed to live out a Christian community concretely and, eventually, theologically. Its continued presence outside the churches was testimony that many of its participants could not have survived in the nonempirical community that was a reality for many churches. Many such churches, caught up in the individualism of American culture and long since departed from covenental and corporate notions about the living of the Christian faith, lacked even a theological affirmation that such a lived community is the direction that Christian faith and life should be taking. A kind of Christian communitarianism was one of the strongest expressions of the Jesus movement's new life.

In Chapter II we saw Arnie looking for a community that would fulfill his needs, a community that would express his Hebrew-Christian identity. Jack Sparks has noted that all seven of the apostolic band came out of Campus Crusade for Christ. "Even in those days we longed for a church." Many of those interviewed for Chapter II were looking for a community where they could find life, religious experience, intimacy, sharing, support—an enfleshed Gospel, theology with a body, religious yearnings and aspirations worked out sociologically. It is the one thing Jesus People look for immediately when they move from one place to another. The house churches that spring to life in Berkeley, the attempts to build Christian networks in neighborhoods reflect this same longing and love for community. Whatever else Sparks's Church of the New Covenant is, whatever else the split in CWLF's trajectory means, it is at least clear witness to the passion for a church, for a solid community to which one can belong and about which one can feel secure and confident. Even the other half of the split, the Berkeley Christian Coalition, found it obvious and appropriate immediately to establish a house church. Possibly the Coalition will move increasingly toward what radicals of the sixties liked to call a collective.

What is the place of community in the Church of the New Covenant? The first two goals of this church mention "a communion whose people are committed to each other" and building churches "culturally and locally oriented, in which the people share community and are cared for under the Lordship of Christ by a serving, indigenous leadership." Of the twelve characteristics of this church, the second is true community and the fifth is care: looking after the "needs of their people in all areas of their lives, including financial, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and vocational." One of the duties of apostles is to provide examples in simplicity of life-style and in practice of Christian community.

So overwhelming is the concern for solid and orderly community that those who came together as the apostolic band were willing to take some ambiguous steps to insure it. As fundamentalists have attempted to guarantee the security of the faith by taking refuge in the New Testament and first-century Christianity, these communal order fundamentalists have taken refuge in what is seen as the golden age of orderly community—the second to the fourth centuries. The faith having been settled, theological legitimations are no longer sprinkled with the words of Paul or John (or Jesus), but with the words of Ignatius and Cyprian, the great proponents of episcopal order in the early church. The security and orderliness of the community is being guaranteed by concepts strange to evangelical ears: apostle, catholic, church order and authority flowing from God to special ministers.

If this is all very old—as old as the "early catholicism" of the pastoral epistles, as old as Ignatius and Cyrpian, as old as the doctrine of apostolic succession, as old as the understanding of the Church as Mother and guarantor of salvation and correct exegesis, as old as Cardinal Newman's conversion to Catholicism—it is also very new to evangelical Protestants, new to American religious life, and, obviously, new to those in CWLF who refused to "go with Jack."

It is, however, the revitalization of community, the insistence on true community as a mark of the Church, which is the real "new" of CWLF and of the Jesus movement. The assumption and demand that brothers and sisters be supportive throughout the week, the great joy and expectation in working out religious experience in a body is the new.

(Of course, this is not new to an introversionist community such as the Amish or some Mennonites.) The Church of the New Covenant has taken this new and attempted to institutionalize and guarantee it in a way no one would have expected.

The New Evangelicalism: The Berkeley Christian Coalition

In his book The Young Evangelicals,[23] Richard Quebedeaux lists the ministries of CWLF as part of "the story of the emergence of a new generation of evangelicals."[24] Particularly the Coalition members see themselves uniting around a small number of Christian ministries which, in some ways, are on the cutting edge of what may be called the new evangelicalism. The givens of the new are the same as of the old:

> 1) the complete reliability and final authority of Scripture in matters of faith and practice; 2) the necessity of a personal faith in Jesus Christ as Savior from sin and consequent commitment to Him as Lord; and 3) the urgency of seeking actively the conversion of sinners to Christ.[25]

Though variously interpreted and emphasized, the basic truth of each of these is held. The difference is in the effort to break new ground, to develop new styles and approaches, to be more conscious about authentic life-style, to seek dialogue with other Christians and, for example, with Marxists, and, above all, to press for a Christian faith and action with broad cultural and social dimensions. While community is very important to the members of the Berkeley Christian Coalition (they did immediately come to call themselves a church after the split), the focus seems somewhat more on the task or the mission. The community, almost a collective, comes into being out of their fellowship with one another as they work out their ministries. Many of the leaders in the Coalition are the kind of people who, in Chapter II, were characterized as coming to Berkeley to be authentic, to work out a new vision, to push their evangelicalism in new directions.

Quebedeaux wants to believe that this new evangelicalism[26] represents a "third way" beyond anti-intellectual and separatist fundamentalism and a mainstream ecumenical liberalism which lacks sufficient Biblical grounding. We have already seen that "conservative churches are growing" and that liberal Protestantism appears in steady decline. Depending on how one counts,[27] it may be argued that evangelicalism (together with fundamentalism) now makes up half of American Protestantism. In view of the past, that in itself may be little cause for jubilation. What is new is its freshness, its deeply-rooted sense of identity and meaning, its centeredness, its insistence on transcending and calling into judgment any unthinking Americanism, its willingness to go public and take on the kinds of responsibility liberal Protestantism (and Roman Catholicism) often seemed to shoulder alone in society.[28] It almost seems that the great energy for social and cultural dimensions to the Gospel has been set free by a theology whose identity is not in doubt and whose very raison d'être is not a problem, which hardly can be said about liberal Protestantism. In short, the new evangelicals look lively and vigorous. For a variety of reasons mainstream Protestantism is looking again at this phenomenon; in its youthful vigor the new evangelicalism is also ready to talk. Quebedeaux even insists that the mainstream seminaries and other institutions should immediately begin a program of affirmative action hiring of the evangelicals who have for so long been excluded.[29]

It is too early to say what may be expected of this new evangelicalism. Its major accomplishment so far is its very coming into being. Its work waits to be done, though there are promising starts. That it is growing and does not look tired, that it is doing things evangelicals were not expected to do are enough to make many expectant of good things. Along with neo-Pentecostalism and (Roman Catholic) charismatic renewal it seems the freshest flower in the Christian landscape. The two most pressing questions waiting to be answered are: (1) Will it be able to move beyond the narrowness that so often characterizes evangelicalism towards larger and more encompassing Christian symbols? (2) As its social vision widens more and more, will its theological base remain "trouble-free" and nonproblematic? However these questions will be answered, it seems that the wedding of a fresh, invigorating, and deeply centered theological conservatism with an ever-expanding and sensitive social radicalism is a significant example of new religious consciousness. At least one of its ingredients is the Berkeley Christian Coalition—and the social-cultural-theological circumstances from which it arose.

New Completion?

We began this study inquiring, perhaps wistfully, whether out of the Jesus movement might come what Ernst Troeltsch would have called "new completion." Would the meaning of the Gospel, if once again recovered and revitalized, be able to take on new shape in modern society? Would there be a new embodiment of theology in the context of society that would promise change and give new meaning both to religion and society?

We have argued that the new evangelicalism is new religious consciousness. One of the questions asked in the Introduction to this study was "Might a new religious consciousness throw sparks upon combustible material, even if its own fire did not continue to burn?" It is possible to speak, even at the most general level, of a kind of greening of the churches as a result of the Jesus movement. There is a recovery of Bible study, an emphasis on community and intra-parish relationships, a willingness to talk about the spiritual without apology, renewed attention to personal religion and personal religious experiences, a cross-denominationalism seen as Spirit-led, new perspectives on youth ministries, and a renewed evangelical nerve. More specifically, the new combination of conservative theology and radical social policy may open up the possibility of new approaches to Marxism and a coaxing of fundamentalists and evangelicals away from their alliances with conservative politics. It may also urge on mainstream Protestantism new approaches to Marxism and socialism and impel it, as it considers its mistakes and reexamines its strengths, commitments, and experience, to its own new completions. At least we may argue that the new evangelicalism has caught the attention of some of mainstream Protestantism. And the new evangelicals may not be above learning from that kind of Protestantism which has long taken responsibility for the social realm. (In all this, of course, we are talking about tiny but influential minorities.) Similar things may occur in Roman Catholicism as it tries to hold together its remarkable Christian radicalism in such areas as Latin America and the renewal of the Church arising from the charismatic movement.

But what may we expect of the new evangelicalism itself? And, to scale the question very small indeed, what may we expect of the Berkeley Christian Coalition?[30] To begin with, we need to be unromantic about what has occurred so far. Has anything changed at all? Are war, business, politics, establishment structures hurting in any way because of the new evangelicalism? Who are the enemies of these people?[31] How far are we from strong social presence, protest, conscience, prophetism, change? Paul Goodman often talked about the American despair that any new thing could or would change anything. Certainly we already saw in CWLF the instinctive distrust of American institutions, a withdrawal of allegiance from the Establishment, an outside-the-walls posture, a kind of prophetic leftism. And we have already wondered if evangelicalism could more widely be led to a reexamination of its uncritical Americanism. There is always the possibility of a revitalization of the nonconforming traditions.

We have been honest about what has not happened. Yet it is not inappropriate to construct a scenario of possibility. What needs to happen? How would it work? We look first at the classical Weberian scenario for social change under religious auspices and then describe an agenda which, in very small ways, may be appearing among some evangelicals.

Max Weber has analyzed the possibilities of breakthrough and social change under religious auspices.[32] The alienated are most available to be stirred by prophetic movements. We have seen in the first chapter that the alienation of the sixties was a primary factor in the rise of the political and cultural revolutions among youth and that this same alienation was crucial to the origins of the Jesus movement. Central to the possibility of change, however, is the intellectual function. Intellect was crucial to rationalization and rationalization was the single most dynamic factor in the process of change. In Weber's sense, rationalization has to do with the definition of the situation and acting upon that definition. It involves intellectual clarification, specification and systematization of ideas. Second, it involves the normative control which these ideas exercise on human actions. Finally, rationalization involves motivated commitment. Eventually a pattern or program for life as a whole is systematized.

To be sure, this very process was present for many of the young in the early sixties who became cultural and political radicals. For many of them some form of Marxism became the fixed idea by which all reality came to be interpreted. From that clarification of the situation, more and more reality was encompassed until a coherent, meaningful, and highly energizing world view had come into being. Now, a not dissimilar process happened with some of the Jesus People. From one peak insight or experience, from one great experience of deliverance, from one utterly new grasp of the world, some of these Jesus People moved out to hook a whole spectrum of situations and ideas, a whole world view into their new view of the situation. It was as the Apostle Paul had said, they suddenly glimpsed that they in Christ were a new creation. The question, however, was how many of these Jesus People could work through this experience and move toward the rationalization of all reality—as St. Paul or Augustine, for example, had done. Obviously, when one asks the question that way, the answer is probably no one. But then the sixties may not either have produced a new Karl Marx. The question is whether some of that rationalizing took place, whether some new theologies or world views were constructed, whether a few Jesus People were able to work through many of the implications of what had happened to them and what they had come to see. If that happened in any important way, then we may speak of the possibility of dramatic change eventually because a whole new systematization of what reality was and what religion's grasp of the world was would have happened. If it had happened, then the question of immediate attention to reforming or bringing down current social structures would recede in importance. King's images fall before their thrones do, Peter Berger has said.

We now must return to the crucial link in the process that Weber noted—the intellect. It is not clear that the rationalizing process was often set in motion among Jesus People because that movement seemed to attract too few of those with intellectual vision, clear articulation, and moral passion. It is true that many had been set on their paths by their experience in the counterculture. But for much of the counterculture _others_ had done the thinking—Roszak suggests as much when he considers the intellectual mentors of the counterculture. Yet there was a certain gut level extension of a few clear insights or, more likely, feelings to a whole American reality. This is the boost that many people who came into CWLF already had. It is a vital boost which already had set them in motion asking the right questions. It was not long before they found the Bible answering those questions in ways which led them to a theological base for their questioning of the whole American reality and societal system as they had experienced it. They began calling themselves radical Christians. David began writing a regular monthly column in Right On called "The Radical Christian." Courses in Crucible with that title were taught and there was a ransacking of the historical traditions of the radical church—the Waldensians, the Donatists, the Albigensians, the Anabaptists. Many or most, however, even in CWLF, would live out such a view only by their instincts. There was no rationalization which gradually tried to take in all reality and judge and master and act on it from that one vital insight extended throughout. Those who rationalized by instinct rather than intellect would probably be those who lived quietly outside the sacred canopy, never paying allegiance to the system. They might be quiet intentionalists, but were unlikely ever to focus what they had come to see to such a blinding spot that it would come to ignite people and bring about change.

That is the Weberian scenario. Some of the elements are there among remnants of the Jesus movement. What would it take for ignition? Weber talks about defining the situation (precisely the role of the classical Old Testament prophets) and acting on it. Ignition awaits theory (theological definition of the situation), praxis, and revolutionary program.

The new evangelicalism as evidenced in such a group as the Berkeley Christian Coalition has yet to fasten on those powerful symbols[33] of Christ which will give it sufficient depth and breadth of vision. Neither the Pauline affirmations of his cosmic reconciling activity, nor the Johannine incarnationalism which sees the Logos coming to its own, nor the prophetic Messianic program of an Isaiah are sufficiently grasped. Always there will be the temptation to premature closure. Always there waits the easy relapse into the safety of typical evangelicalism, the security of small vision, the purity bought with small responsibility for the world. Always there lurks the cheap grace[34] of mellowing out with the Truth, just as Troeltsch so disturbingly characterized Lutheranism as mellowing out in the quiet peace of forgiveness.

The intellectual power, as Weber sees it, and the theological grasp are not clearly present. Will others from the free church tradition, among whom the kind of intellectual resources needed may be present, rise to reexamine their own roots and to carry through the process of rationalization in their own time which the genius of their traditions has made possible?

Evangelical praxis seems more promising. There seems great power in the experience of community, and there is a resolve that there must be community. The coalitions, collectives, and communes which have arisen testify to this. There is also a self-consciousness about simplicity in life-style and a continual inspection to see if the community's life together and apart reflects its commitments or is thoughtlessly wedded to an alien ideology (e.g., the American bourgeoisie). It is possible that the experience of love in the family will lead it to regressive closure and allow it to give up its task in the world. It is to be hoped that the collective effervescence of this community will instead continually renew its commitment to the social task, enrich its vision, and push it toward ever new working out of its theory.

Finally, what would it take for communal praxis to move toward revolutionary programs? Bryan Wilson argues that reformist sectarianism arises only in advanced societies when a group, out of a process of intensive socialization, acquires a strong and collective conscience toward the wider world.[35] The reformist approach arises from a sect that has undergone development. Is the Berkeley Christian Coalition a conversionist group in the process of institutionalization in the direction of a reformist collective? Wilson believes the Quakers are the single best example of a twentieth-century reformist sect. The task they have taken upon themselves is to be society's self-appointed conscience. If the Coalition should catch a vision of itself as a prophetic band (not the apostolic band of the Church of the New Covenant), as a community "standing still in the light" so that others might see its vision embodied, and as free church nonconformity always directed at the social order and committed to engaging it, we might see a reformist group with the beginning of a revolutionary program involving new religious consciousness and social change.

If that, in turn, should catalyze or participate in a chain of ignitions which would include the experience, social passion, and symbolic depth of the wider Protestant and Roman Catholic groups, then we might see a small group, elite to be sure, of change makers attempting to make and carry out a revolutionary social program under Christian auspices. Such a momentum would combine the freshness and naivete of a new evangelicalism, with its communal and personal experience of a living God who still acts, with the living experience the larger Christian tradition is recovering of how large a situation this God defines, how wide is the history he impinges upon.

May we then be facing a new completion, a horizon promising social change? So much is required. So many snares lie everywhere at hand. Weberian theologian-intellectuals with profound grasp of the situation, superb articulation, personal commitment, and the will to carry the divine vision to new social completions seem in short supply. Alas, this seems but a wistful dream.

Notes to Chapter VII

[1] Michael McFadden, The Jesus Revolution (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 8.

[2] I have widened the focus of this chapter to include the wider Jesus movement for two reasons. Many readers will be more interested in the Jesus movement as a national phenomenon than in CWLF in particular when it comes to assessing its impact and significance. Also, to the extent that the Jesus movement is CWLF writ large (which is true more in terms of press reports and felt impact than of actual fact), it is easier to address the larger issues in that context. The effect, if it is significant, will have to be felt at that level. To be sure, the interpretation at this point becomes more impressionistic.

[3] The entire groundwork for this bold approach is laid in an essay by one of the members of the apostolic band, Gordon Walker. In a pamphlet entitled "Twentieth Century Apostleship," he argues that apostleship is not unique to the first century and replies to the objections to subsequent use of that term to describe an office in the Church. The apostolic function is to lay foundations, supervise the building, and establish spiritual authority, functions required by the Church in every age. The requirements for apostleship are calling, vision, anointing, and testing. Finally, this new apostle argues that today calls for restoration, new foundations and structures which will become "models of what God can do throughout His Church." "Unapologetically" these new apostles are about that very task. This pamphlet is one of two already produced by Conciliar Press (note the title), the publishing arm of this new apostolic band. The other is "Coming in from the Cold," by Dick Ballew, another of the new apostles. It argues that the communities emerging under the guidance of these latter-day apostles are the surest answer to several severe problems of the twentieth century (and presumably of the great evangelizations of the sixties and seventies): identity crisis, loss of authority, and guilt. A new kind of Christian community, not new doctrines, is the answer. Among other things Ballew argues that "good authority" solves key problems. He also writes: "We are not a sect, we don't hold any wild teachings. We believe in the Apostles' Creed." A sociological observer can only respond in the words of the commercial, "You've come a long way, baby."

[4] An appendix contains a kind of charter for this emerging network, "The New Covenant Apostolic Order."

[5] In his paper on "The Christian Ecclesia," delivered in December 1973 at the time of the inauguration of the "church" within CWLF, Sparks could still say about baptism: "This public dunking was embarrassing

and bound to turn off rich and important people who would not wish to be humiliated in public. Still, it was a step of identification which could not be forgotten."

[6] Time, September 24, 1973, p. 80.

[7] In his book Jesus People Come Alive (Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House, 1971), pp. 69-80, Walker Knight discusses the immediate and long-term effects of a revival at Ashbury College in Kentucky.

[8] Ronald Enroth, Edward Erickson, C. Breckinridge Peters, The Jesus People (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 244.

[9] Ibid., p. 157.

[10] Ibid., p. 246.

[11] Cf. the report by Mary White Harder, James T. Richardson, and Robert B. Simmonds, "Jesus People." Psychology Today, December, 1972.

[12] Paul Goodman, "The New Reformation," The New York Times Magazine, September 14, 1969.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Robert Bellah, "The Contemporary Meaning of Kamakura Buddhism," Journal of the American Academy of Religion 42 (March, 1974, p. 4.

[16] Martin Marty, The Fire We Can Light (Garden City: Doubleday, 1973).

[17] H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 238.

[18] In That New-Time Religion (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972), Erling Jorstad argues that this religion pledges no allegiance to American institutions nor to Americanism itself.

[19] Joseph David Damrell,"Improvisational Youth Groups and the Search for Identity: A Study of an Urban Religious Sect in the Youth Culture"(unpublished dissertation, University of California at Davis, 1972).

[20] Ibid., p. 2.

[21] Ibid., p. 3.

[22] The phrase has become particularly popular through the writings of Carlos Castaneda.

[23] Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

[24] This is the subtitle on the cover of the book.

[25] Quebedeaux, p. 4.

[26] Another book on this subject is Donald Bloesch, The Evangelical Renaissance (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973). For the attempts to get free of social noninvolvement or unthinking Americanism, see David Moberg, The Great Reversal: Evangelism versus Social Concerns (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972), and Richard Pierard, The Unequal Yoke: Evangelical Christianity and Political Conservatism (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970). The most conspicuous voice of social involvement and clearly leftist politics among the young evangelicals is the newspaper The Post-American, published by The People's Christian Coalition.

[27] Quebedeaux, p. 47.

[28] Cf. "A Declaration of Evangelical Social Concern," adopted November 25, 1973 at Chicago. This document is reprinted with a commentary by one of the participants and signers in Radical Religion, Summer and Fall, 1974.

[29] Quebedeaux, p. 146.

[30] The Coalition, in its recent mailings, describes itself thus: "Berkeley Christian Coalition is a community of Christians seeking to use their creative gifts for the glory of God, and the edification of Christians everywhere, to reflect the character of God to the people of Berkeley, and to learn something of what it means to live together in a love/trust relationship with Jesus Christ the Lord." Interesting, if not necessarily promising. Perhaps it should be noted that this statement is printed on an envelope requesting financial support.

[31] I want to separate myself here from the position Martin Marty takes in The Fire We Can Light. He asks these very questions and then

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rushes to dismiss nearly everything about the sixties. There is an almost gleeful assurance that nothing has come or will come from that decade's youth movement and a turn to the question of what kinds of fires we (liberals?) can light.

[32] Cf. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). The introduction by Talcott Parsons is particularly helpful.

[33] We have already discussed in Chapter VI the significance of choosing symbols with evocative power to move a group forward, even beyond where they would wish, and symbols which call to quiet dead ends.

[34] The term is from Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1963). Quebedeaux, pp. 61-68, calls Bonhoeffer and C. S. Lewis the two most important mentors of the young evangelicals.

[35] Bryan Wilson, Religious Sects (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), p. 177.

APPENDIX

NEW COVENANT APOSTOLIC ORDER

Being convinced it is the will of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit and because we are living in a time of great need for a new expression of the church, in continuity with biblical, apostolic and catholic tradition, we the undersigned are establishing the NEW COVENANT APOSTOLIC ORDER.

We are NEW COVENANT because we believe the new covenant promise is for the church today. God through the Holy Spirit does indeed write His law upon the hearts of His people, those who live under the government and reign of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We are APOSTOLIC because the service and authority of apostleship is necessary today to lead the church to live under Christ's reign. Apostleship is a gift to the church required throughout its history. God has called us to this ministry.

We are an ORDER because we as one among other such groups of people are called to serve the Lord in His church. Such orders have strong historic precedence. We are committed to the goals, characteristics, organization and doctrinal statements herein set forth.

GOALS

1. To build, as workers under God, the CHURCH OF THE NEW COVENANT, a communion of churches whose people experience the Lordship of Christ, are committed to each other in this life, and look forward to the hope, the ultimate establishment of the Kingdom of God.

2. To build churches, culturally and locally oriented, in which the people share community and are cared for under the Lordship of Christ by a serving, indigenous leadership.

3. To strive for catholicity in our relationships with other existing churches and communions of churches.

CHARACTERISTICS

Churches raised up by this apostolic order and joining the Church of the New Covenant are called especially to the following concerns:

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1. Grace: Our God deals with us according to His gracious loving character. We are grateful recipients of this grace and are called to reflect it in this world.

2. True Community: These congregations of people are to be committed to God and to each other, being truly involved in all aspects of each other's lives.

3. Vision: We are committed to a vision of the raising up of churches reflecting the Kingdom of God and expressing the church catholic. These churches are called to be the salt of the earth and to be light shining in the darkness of a fallen world. Each church is called within its own local and cultural setting to be a living demonstration of the blessing and order of God's reign in contrast to the confusion and anarchy of Satan in a rebel world.

4. An Authoritative, Serving Leadership: The government of each church is carried out by an eldership (ideally plural) devoted to serving the congregation. These elders have authority under God, and the people are committed to their serving leadership.

5. Care: These congregations are called to look after the needs of their people in all areas of their lives, including financial, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and vocational.

6. Seeing and Hearing from God: One consequence of the new covenant is the baptism in the Holy Spirit enabling God's people to see and hear from Him. As Christians walk in obedience to the Spirit, they should expect God to communicate with them. The church is responsible to determine when God has in fact spoken and to obey accordingly.

7. Good Works: Faith without works is dead. Each congregation is committed to putting love into action individually and collectively. This includes preaching the Gospel to the poor and care for the sick, the poverty-stricken, and people afflicted with other troubles.

8. Godliness: Human beings are responsible for their conduct. The words and works of the citizens of God's Kingdom are to be in obedience to their King. We are committed to living lives of love, moral purity, truth, kindness, justice, goodness and those other characteristics to which God calls His people.

9. Orthodox Theology: We teach and hold to those doctrines which have their base in Scripture, are in keeping with the formulations of the early councils of the church catholic, and have been commonly held by all communions of orthodox believers. We are not interested in new or novel doctrines.

10. Worship: The heart of worship is praise and thanksgiving. These churches joyfully and regularly gather at the throne of God to worship the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Each member is encouraged to participate.

11. The Hope: We look forward to the Second Advent of Christ, the King, and participation forever in the Kingdom which He will one day fully establish.

12. Catholicity: The church is divided. That is not the ideal of God. We long for the church to return to a state of unity which will show the world that He is Lord.

ORGANIZATION

ELDERS

Ideally, each of the churches is governed by plural eldership. These elders are ordained by the apostolic workers with the agreement of the people of the church.

Initial identification of a potential elder comes from the Holy Spirit through persons in the church and/or through the apostolic workers. In any case there must be apostolic recognition of the elders. Elders are responsible for the care and government of the church. They are responsible to see that the church is taught correct doctrine in all spheres of life.

DEACONS

Deacons are chosen to serve the church by the agreement of the elders and the people. Deacons are responsible for the care of the physical need of the church and its people. They work under the leadership of the elders.

PRESBYTERY

Within local areas the churches are served and united by a presbytery of all of the elders of those churches. This presbytery concerns itself with:

1. The unity of its churches.

2. The guardianship of apostolic doctrine.

3. The supply of gifts and ministry to its churches which have need of assistance.

4. The local care of young men and women preparing for the work of ministry.

REGIONAL APOSTOLIC COUNCIL

All of the presbyteries in a larger defined area are served and ministered to by a Regional Apostolic Council. This council, composed of members of the New Covenant Apostolic Order, will give itself to:

1. Raising up churches of the nature already defined.

2. Establishing these churches under the Lordship of Christ and seeing to it that they are grounded in the application of sound doctrine to the lives of the people.

3. Discovering, ordaining, overseeing, and training elders and workers.

4. Providing examples in simplicity of lifestyle, in practice of Christian community, in submission to the leadership established by God, and in commitment to the church locally and universally.

5. Setting up education and training for the preparation of the people for service and ministry.

GENERAL APOSTOLIC COUNCIL

The New Covenant Apostolic Order is served and led by a General Apostolic Council presently made up of Dick Ballew, Ken Berven, Jon Braun, Peter Gillquist, Ray Nethery, Jack Sparks and Gordon Walker. All members of this council share the aforementioned goals. They will give themselves primarily to the raising up of churches, to prayer and ministry of the Word, to apostolic doctrine, to the oversight of regional apostolic councils, and to the publishing of literature which will build up the church.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Overall authority in the church and in the apostolic order is vested in the General Assembly of the Church of the New Covenant. This General Assembly is presently composed of all the elders of all the churches and the members of the New Covenant Apostolic Order. As the churches multiply, and the numbers become unwieldy, the presbyteries will choose representative elders to serve on the General Assembly. The General Assembly will meet annually and as necessity requires.

PERTINENT DOCTRINE

1. We embrace as foundational to proper theological definition and true belief in this century (as in previous Christian centuries) three creeds which are catholic in their acceptance and recognition:

The Apostles Creed: I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified dead and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the dead, and life everlasting.

The Nicene Creed: We believe in one God the Father all-sovereign, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, True God of True God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made, things in heaven and things on the earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into the heavens, is coming to judge living and dead. And in the Holy Spirit. And those that say, 'There was when he was not,' and 'Before he was begotten he was not,' and that, 'He came into being from what-is-not,' or those that allege, that the Son of God is 'Of another substance or essence' or 'created', or 'changeable,' or 'alterable,' these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

The Chalcedonian Creed: Therefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the virgin, the God-bearer; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and substance, not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

2. Because of the loss of truth in the church in our time, we feel there are certain matters which require attention from a doctrinal standpoint. The creation, the personalness of God, the Word of God and eschatology are a few. At this writing we have not completed a definitive statement on these and other pertinent matters. We do include a brief statement of our view of the Scripture because of its pressing importance to those reading this document.

XUM

The Scripture is the only authoritative, God-breathed, infallible record given by God to humanity; it is revelation and it is unique. Scripture as interpreted by the agreement of the church universal is the only authoritative source of doctrine.

We the undersigned commend this statement of direction and organization to the churches which we serve. We are fully aware that this document is preliminary work. We are eagerly open to anything God may say through anyone in any of our churches. We request that this document be considered and that any suggestions come via the elders to a meeting for all of our elders from all of our churches at Grace Haven, June 28 - July 1, 1976.

Signed:

Dick Ballew

Ken Berven

Jon Braun

Peter Gillquist

Ray Nethery

Jack Sparks

Gordon Walker

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